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KINSHIP ORGANIZATION IN INDIA

by
IRAWATI KARVE



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TO
MY HUSBAND

*While dedicating to you this book
which would never have been either
thought out or written but for you,
let me express my feelings in the
traditional Hindu manner:*

I PLACE MY HEAD ON YOUR FEET
AND ASK FOR YOUR BLESSING

FOREWORD

MRS. KARVE's *Kinship Organization in India* first appeared in 1953 and marked a notable advance in our understanding of the structure of Indian society; it has not been superseded by any other general comparative treatment of Hindu Kinship in India as a whole, and a re-issue is more than overdue. Naturally then I regard it as no small privilege to be writing this foreword to a second edition of the most important of her fifty or so publications.

Professor Karve—for she is now head of the department of Sociology and Anthropology in the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute in Poona—is exceptionally well qualified to write on the kinship systems of India. After taking her M.A. degree in the School of Sociology of Bombay University, she took her Ph.D. in Berlin under Eugen Fischer, and has a knowledge of both social and physical anthropology, a combination which in these days of specialization comparatively few of us can claim. Beyond that her acquaintance with Sanskrit and Pali literature enables her to write of Indian kinship diachronically, particularly as she has gone to the trouble of learning to read Tamil for the sake of the light which early Tamil literature can throw on South Indian systems.

This new edition is on the same plan as the first but the author has added a chapter on Inheritance, in which she explains the differences between the Dayabhaga system of Bihar and Bengal and the Mitakshara system followed by the rest of Hindu India. She also deals with the system in matrilineal Kerala. Professor Karve has succeeded in bringing out very clearly the contrast between the social system of northern India developed by a patrilineal and patrilocal society, probably associated primarily with a pastoral economy, and depending for its strength on external alliances and the incorporation of outsiders, and that of the south which has its strength in the internal consolidation of closely related kinship groups originally, no doubt, dependent upon agriculture. It is not, she concludes, through the association of exogamous moieties that reciprocal kinship terms and the obligations that go with them develop, but by the continuous exchange of daughters between two or more families, which may thus grow into a closely knit kinship unit.

It is perhaps characteristic of the author that she should tend to lay emphasis on the less obvious processes in the formation of social units. She has stressed a somewhat similar point elsewhere, when writing of caste, and in both cases has drawn attention to what I may perhaps call the inductive method of group formation as contrasted with the deductive. Neither can be neglected of course in the study of Indian social organization, but the objecti-

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THIS book has been in preparation for the last three years. I got a chance to work seriously at it during my stay in England in 1951-52 at the kind invitation of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London. While there the first draft of the book was written and many points discussed with Prof. Haimendorf and Mr. Louis Dumont. At times I despaired of ever moving forward with the book and would certainly have ceased writing it but for the constant goading and ready help of Betty Haimendorf, Prof. Haimendorf's wife, whose knowledge of Indian Anthropology is very great and whose friendship for a lonely elderly Indian woman in a strange city was even greater and more useful than the former. I also thank Mr. C. S. K. Pathy and Mr. M. S. H. Thompson for their help in elucidating certain Tamil terms.

The Humanities Division of the Rockefeller Foundation was another fairy who helped towards this book. I was invited to the United States and travelled from New York to San Francisco meeting colleagues and talking Anthropology with them to my heart's content. The Americans whom I met were never tired of anthropological discussion and were ever ready to exchange views and information. I profited much by this stimulating experience. It was the most heart-warming experience in my life and I thank Mr. Chadbourne Gilpatric for enabling me to undertake this trip and to all the American colleagues I met for making it so useful to me.

At home my colleagues in the Institute were as usual very helpful. Prof. Katre, my Director, was consulted scores of times about meanings of Sanskrit words and was made use of almost like a dictionary and proved very much better than a dictionary each time. The three Sanskrit Pandits Messrs. Siddheshwara Shastri, Shrinivas Shastri and Krishna Murti Sharma were of help on many occasions. Prof. Sankalia looked through and clarified for me many of the archaeological and historical references. Without Prof. Sankaran's help the chapter on the southern kinship would not have got its illustrative material. He, with great patience, read Tamil with me and gave me my first taste of the magnificence of the Tamil literary tradition. To all these colleagues my very grateful thanks.

The maps and tables were prepared by my assistant Miss Kamala

Mokashi with the help of Mr. Z. Shaikh. Miss Mokashi also helped me with collection of kinship terms.

On my return I thoroughly revised the first draft. During this time, I had great help from Drs. John and Ruth Useem who happened to be in Poona then. The many hours of discussion spent with them were, I hope, of mutual benefit to us.

Lastly, my sincere thanks to those hundreds of my countrymen who helped me, looked after me and fed me during my travels, all over India in villages and in jungle country. I hope that in future I may get the same welcome and hospitality from them.

The Governments of Orissa, Mysore, Travancore and Bihar helped me in my investigation. This help and the help of the people made it possible for my meagre research grant to go a very long way indeed. My thanks to them and may I hope that the same hospitality will be shown to me in future too.

The University of Poona gave me a research grant for taking anthropometric measurements in Karnatak. Although that work is being published separately, I record my thanks here also, as I was enabled to collect material on kinship organization during my tour.

A word of explanation about the absence of an index. When I prepared an index for the first two chapters, I found that not only was it very bulky, but I realized that it was of very little help for purposes of reference. All names of persons, all the kinship terms in English and the numerous equivalents given in Tables had to be included, as also the page references wherever those words were discussed in the text. Thus a word like "father" would have about a hundred page numbers following it and that would probably not be of any use to a reader for purposes of reference. I felt that the general arrangement of the book, i.e., chapters on different zones, the discussion on the individual words followed by the discussion on the kinship organization of the zone and the region, would be sufficient to enable a reader to locate the particular reference he was looking for without the help of an index.

In conclusion, but for the ungrudging and sympathetic co-operation of the Manager of the G. S. Press and his staff, this book would not have come out in its present format in such record time, and I tender them my grateful thanks.

Poona
Vijayadashami
17 October, 1953

I. KARVE

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

BDCRI for *Bulletin of the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona.*

Annals

BORI for *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.*

RV for Ṛgveda.

AV for Atharvaveda.

JBBRAS for *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

JGRS for *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society.*

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I

THREE things are absolutely necessary for the understanding of any cultural phenomenon in India. These are: the configuration of the linguistic regions, the institution of caste and the family organization. Each of these three factors is intimately bound up with the other two and the three together give meaning and supply basis to all other aspects of Indian culture.

A language area is one in which several languages belonging to one language-family are spoken. From the Himalayas in the north to the river Godavari in the south and from Karachi in the west to Gauhati in the east is a language area in which a majority of the languages spoken belongs to the Indo-European family of languages. The second language area extends roughly from the middle reaches of the river Godavari in the north to the southernmost tip of India and from a few miles east of the city of Sholapur in the west to a little north of Shrikakulam on the eastern coast of India. This is the area in which languages of the Dravidian family are spoken. A few of these languages have penetrated northwards deep into the present area of the Indo-European languages, through east-central India. One language of the Dravidian family is also found in north eastern Ceylon and has been there at least from the beginning of the Christian era.

The third language area belonging to the Austro-Asiatic family of languages does not represent, geographically, a solid contiguous block of territory, but is broken up by areas of the Indo-European and Dravidian languages. It consists of the forested areas of Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Andhra, and of the tiny isolated areas in the central Himalayan foot-hills and in the forests of central India.

Each of these language areas is further divided into different linguistic regions. In each of such regions one language and its dialects are spoken. The major linguistic regions dealt with in this book are as follows :

(A) LANGUAGE AREA OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES

<i>Name of the linguistic region</i>	<i>Language spoken</i>	<i>Designation of the people</i>
(1) Punjab	Punjabi	Punjabi
(2) Sind	Sindhi	Sindhi
(3) (a) Uttar Pradesh	Hindi	Hindi
(b) Madhya Bharat	-do-	-do-
(4) Bihar	Bihari	Bihari
(5) Bengal	Bengali	Bengali
(6) Assam	Assamese	Assamese
(7) Rajputana or Rajasthan	Rajasthani	Rajput & Marwari ¹
(8) Gujarat, comprising former Gujarat and Kathiawad ²	Gujarati	Gujarati & Kathiawadi
(9) Maharashtra	Marathi	Marathi
(10) South Konkan ³	Konkani	No specific name
(11) Orissa	Oriya	Oriya

(Kashmiri spoken in Kashmir, Pahadi spoken in the Central Himalayan foot hills and Nepali spoken in Nepal have not been included in this table, as they are not discussed in the present essay. Bihari differs only slightly from Hindi.)

(B) LANGUAGE AREA OF THE DRAVIDIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES

<i>Name of the linguistic region</i>	<i>Language spoken</i>	<i>Designation of the people</i>
(1) Andhra Pradesh	Andhra or Telugu	Andhra or Telugu
(2) Mysore	Kannada	Kannadiga
(3) Madras	Tamil	Tamilian
(4) Kerala	Malayalam	Malayali
(5) Tulunad (south Mysore and the coastal region between Kanara and Mangalore)	Tulu ⁴	Bant & other castes
(6) Coorg Hills ⁵ (Mysore)	Kodagu	Kodagu
(7) Nilgiri Hills ⁶ (south Mysore)	Toda	Toda

The other linguistic regions of the Dravidian family, being scattered, have no special names. The people speaking these languages and their geographical locations are indicated below :

<i>Name of the linguistic region</i>	<i>Language spoken</i>	<i>Designation of the people</i>
(8) (a) Malkangiri District of Orissa	Kui and Gondi	Koya, Kondh & Gond
(b) The whole of south- & west-central Orissa including Koraput & Phulbani districts	-do-	-do-
(c) Bastar in Madhya Pradesh	Gondi	Gond
(d) Northern and eastern border of Madhya Pradesh	Gondi	Gond
(e) Keonjher and north Orissa	Gondi	Gondi
(f) Parts of Chanda district of Maharashtra & Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh	Kolami	Kolam
(g) Parts of north Orissa & south Bihar	Kurukh	Oraon or Kurukh

(C) LANGUAGE AREA OF THE AUSTRO-ASIATIC FAMILY OF LANGUAGES

<i>Name of the linguistic region</i>	<i>Language spoken</i>	<i>Designation of the people</i>
(1) The whole of south Bihar and northern, west-central & southern parts of Orissa	Mundari ⁷ Saora Bondo Juang Gadaba Bhumia	Munda Saora Bondo Juang Gadaba Bhumia

<i>Name of the linguistic region</i>	<i>Language spoken</i>	<i>Designation of the people</i>
(2) The Santhal Par-gana district of West Bengal	Santhali	Santhal
(3) Assam Hills	Khasi	Khasi

The linguistic regions possess a certain homogeneity of culture, traits and kinship organization. The common language makes communication easy, sets the limits of marital connections and confines kinship mostly within the language region. Common folk-songs and common literature characterize such an area. This is inevitable as large numbers of people are illiterate and literary traditions are transmitted orally. Most of the devotional literature of medieval India developed this way. The Ramayana of Tulsidas and the stories of Alha and Udan are recited, sung and retold now in the villages of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The poetry of the Marathi saints is preserved in the memory of thousands of illiterate Marathi peasants and artisans. The same type of stories, songs and proverbs are met with over wider areas covering different linguistic regions. The question arises as to whether the different regions acquired them from a common source or there are inter-regional agencies which transmit this cultural material from one region to another. Actually both these factors are at work and show us the interrelation of various regions and ultimately reveal the common fabric which we understand as Indian culture.

In this book I have discussed the kinship terminologies of all the three language areas. It would have been possible and might have seemed more logical to divide the book into three parts dealing with these areas separately as (1) Indo-European or Sanskritic, (2) Dravidian, and (3) Mundari organizations of kinship. Instead, I have presented the kinship organizations in a geographical sequence of (1) northern, (2) central, (3) southern and (4) eastern zones. This procedure was adopted deliberately to emphasize the spatial pattern and interrelation of the kinship organization and the linguistic divisions. Since the geographical distribution of different language families in India is well known, here I have only tried to relate this configuration with another cultural phenomenon, the kinship organization.

The kinship organization follows roughly the linguistic pattern; but in some aspects language and kinship pattern do not go hand in

hand. Thus though the Maharashtra region belongs to the area of Sanskritic languages its kinship organization is to a large extent modelled on that of the Dravidian south, its southern neighbour. The Dravidian north on the other hand has been affected to a large extent by its northern neighbours speaking Sanskritic languages. It is not the people of Karnatak and Andhra alone, whose literature is saturated with Sanskrit words and Sanskrit epics, who use some northern kinship terms, but also the Oraons and Gonds, the primitive jungle folk who live within the northern linguistic area, and have kinship vocabularies which show over fifty per cent of words borrowed from Sanskritic languages. I have therefore presented the kinship material in geographical divisions, which are easy to understand particularly after they are brought into relationship with the language areas of India.

The second thing one must know if one wishes to understand any phase of the culture of any group of people in India is the caste system. The structure of the caste system has been well described by many Indian and foreign anthropologists. Some important facts about caste however need to be borne in mind to understand many features of kinship organization described in this survey.

A caste is, with very few exceptions, an endogamous⁸ group, confined to one linguistic region. Barring a few very large groups like the Marathas of Maharashtra and the Rajputs of Rajasthan, the number of people belonging to a caste ranges from a couple of thousand to a couple of a hundred thousand. Endogamy and distribution over a definite area make caste members related to one another either by ties of blood or by ties of marriage. Therefore caste can be defined as an extended kin group.⁹ In Indian literature, both old and new, the words for caste are : *jāti*, *jāta* or *kulam*. Many castes having similar status and performing similar functions have names, one part of which may be common. Thus the castes, engaged in the work of a goldsmith have *Sonar* (worker in gold) as the common part of their names. In Maharashtra, for example, there are the following distinct castes doing work in gold : *Daivadnya Sonar*, *Ahir Sonar*, *Lad Sonar*, etc. Each of them is fully endogamous and occupies, within Maharashtra, a region slightly different from the others. In a village a man may describe his caste simply as *Sonar*; but further inquiry will bring out a fuller designation of the caste. This phenomenon has led older anthropologists to assume one caste for every major occupation and to call the endogamous groups following one occupation "sub-castes". The terms "caste" and "sub-caste" led to the belief that the groups

called sub-castes were formed out of the bigger groups called castes. In the above example it would mean that in Maharashtra there was originally one large "caste" called Sonar which in course of time and for varied reasons split into smaller, mutually exclusive "sub-castes". This view introduces further complications when it is seen that in most linguistic regions such as Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat, there are many sets of castes styling themselves Sonar. Similarly in every linguistic region of India there are priestly castes calling themselves some type of Brahmin. If the terminology "caste" and "sub-caste" is retained, the inevitable conclusion would be that originally for the whole country there was a Sonar caste and a Brahmin caste which split into various Sonar and Brahmin castes and sub-castes either within the same region or between different regions.

Without going further into the question of "castes" and "sub-castes", it is proposed (a) to apply the term "caste" for an endogamous group, (b) to do away altogether with the term "sub-caste", and (c) to use the term "caste cluster" for groups of castes which follow similar occupations.

Endogamy, distribution over a definite region and a hereditary occupation are thus characteristics of a caste as defined above. In addition, castes are ranked in a certain order. Sometimes a whole caste-cluster occupies a definite position in relation to other caste-clusters. Even within the caste cluster there is generally a ranking. The position and the rank of a caste within a caste cluster as also in relation to other caste clusters is almost never agreed upon by all. Part of Indian social history in ancient and modern times is made up of such disputes.¹⁰

Over and above the ranking of each caste, there is, since ancient times, a general scheme which divides all castes into four major orders called *varṇa*. In very ancient times there were two *varṇas*, which later increased to four, even before the end of the Vedic period.¹¹ The four *varṇas* were called, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. Since medieval times a fifth *varṇa* called Panchama was added, especially in the south.

The castes included in the fifth or *panchama* order were called in British times "untouchables" and later "scheduled castes". The word "untouchable" was translated in Indian languages, e.g. *aspr̥shya* (in Marathi), *achhut* (in Hindi), to denote these castes. They were not known by such a name in pre-British times. The aspect of untouchability was stressed by the British and later by the Indian reformists. This word has served well in drawing

peoples' attention to the social injustices under which these castes have suffered. It is however an unfortunate word from the point of view of analysis and understanding of the institution of caste. Untouchability is a characteristic of the caste structure from top to bottom. A few decades back a Brahmin would have been polluted by the touch of any other caste. If he came in contact with persons of other castes he had to take a bath to get rid of the pollution before he could take his food. A Brahmin's touch was not polluting to the others; but any caste, coming in contact with others became polluted. The author has shown elsewhere¹² that in a village each caste had a separate habitation area. Untouchability was thus a part of the caste system and was one more factor which made for separateness. In the case of the *panchama* group, untouchability leading to separateness was carried to an extreme. Untouchability and pollution are found in familial situations like menstruation, child birth and death. In Brahmin families the main meal was cooked by women after taking a bath. In this state no members of the family could touch them without polluting them. Untouchability therefore is a feature of the whole of the caste system and family organization and is imbedded in very ancient ideas of pollution and purity.

The Brahmin *varṇa* included all castes which called themselves Brahmin of some sort. A few castes claim Brahminhood, but are not accorded it by the other Brahmins.¹³

Castes which claim to be Kshatriyas, that is, warriors or ruling chieftains, belong to the Kshatriya *varṇa*. All the modern claimants to this rank try to trace their genealogies to the great heroes of Indian mythology. Where no such descent is established, an attempt is made to derive such castes from fire, etc.¹⁴

Vaishya generally go by various names : Vaishya, Bania, Vani, Sethi and Shetti. Their hereditary occupation is trade, commerce and shop keeping. Anybody doing the ritual work of a Brahmin generally claims to be a Brahmin. There have been however, at all times in India, well-known ruling houses and trading people who did not belong to the Kshatriya or Vaishya order.¹⁵ The Shudra order is made up of an extremely large number of caste-clusters following various professions and includes chiefly food producers (agriculturists, fisherfolk, etc.), artisans, the so-called service castes and others. The last order has been sometimes regarded as a sub-order of the Shudras. It consists of all castes which have anything to do with cattle carcasses, removal of night soil and such other occupations. Their houses are always situated apart from

the rest of the village and their touch is said to pollute all the other castes.

Castes from the Shudra order try to rise to the higher orders especially that of the Kshatriya. Certain well established patterns of marriage and concubinage were known to exist between castes belonging to different *varṇas*. They will be considered later at the proper place.

In every linguistic region the four *varṇas* were generally distributed in such a way that the Shudras formed the largest number, while the remaining *varṇas*, including the untouchables, made about thirty per cent of the population.¹⁶ These proportions have however been upset in recent historical times by a large number of castes successfully claiming to be Kshatriyas. In the mechanism of rising higher in the caste and *varṇa* scale, marriage has always played a very important role, which will be discussed later.

The third important factor in Indian life is the family and by family is meant here the joint family. In India the joint family has endured for as long as any records exist. Even about 1000 B.C., in the time of the Mahabharata war, the joint family existed more or less as it exists today. Earlier records of the Sanskrit texts called Brahmanas and Vedas justify the inference that the patrilineal, patrilocal joint family was in existence even then. Neither the Muslim nor the British rule was able to modify the structure of this most ancient institution of India. The industrial revolution and Western technology introduced by the British are gradually 'making inroads into the joint family and one does find in India a few examples of truly single families on the Western model. However in the great majority of cases it is still a larger or smaller joint family which one finds in India.

A joint family is a group of people who generally live under one roof, who eat food cooked in one kitchen, who hold property in common, participate in common family worship and are related to one another as some particular type of kindred.

This definition of a joint family needs clarification necessitated by the expression "who *generally* live and eat together". Those people who subsisted solely by agriculture did, as a matter of fact, live and eat together; but in the case of others who engaged in trade or were in the armed forces or civil services, some members of the joint family might remain away from home for an indefinite period. A joint family has always an ancestral seat or locality. However humble an Indian might be, he will always refer to his ancestral village as his home. As all service was paid for in land in ancient

days, every Indian had a small family holding in some village—may be just a strip of land or, for an artisan, just a small house.

This connection of a family with a locality lingers even after the family has finally migrated out of its village. Such families keep on worshipping the gods of their former locality or come back, time and again, to keep certain vows made to these gods.

The joint family has a seat, a locus, and is made up of certain kin. The kin group making up a joint family is of two types. In the northern type those men who trace descent from a common male ancestor form the core of the family; with them are associated women who are brought as brides and the young unmarried daughters of the family. Thus there are three or four generations of males related to the male ego as grandfather and his brothers, father and his brothers, own brothers and cousins, sons and nephews and wives of all these male relatives, plus the ego's own unmarried sisters and daughters. Sometimes a father's sister may come back as a widow but that is rare and in the case of castes which allow widow remarriage, such residence is but temporary. The type and the number of other relatives who may be temporary visitors or permanent members of a joint household will be described later. These people find support and shelter in such a family but do not have rights to common property. The northern family is thus patrilineal and patrilocal and the married women in such a family live in the "house of their father-in-law" (*sasurāl*).

In Kerala we meet with another kind of joint family called *thārwad*. In relation to the male ego, the members of such a family are: mother's mother and her sisters and brothers, mother and her sisters and brothers, own brothers and sisters, mother's sisters' sons and daughters, and the children of the ego's sisters. In this family there are no relations by marriage. The married women with their children live with their mothers. The husbands in this family also live in the house of *their* own mothers and are only occasional visitors to their wives and children. Both the types of family and their organization have been described in the following pages. The question as to how great the size of the family can be and how long an ever-growing family can occupy *one* locus may however be briefly touched here.

Every existing joint family is a piece broken off from a larger unit. In a city or a village there may be even ten or twelve houses, each sheltering a joint family, and all acknowledging common descent and showing relationship through one male line. Very often, in such cases, one house is known as the ancient house and called

the "great house". This "great house" may shelter the family gods and, therefore, all the people of the other houses may have to go there on certain occasions of common worship. A time comes when even these ties are broken and the off-shoots establish their own family gods in their own respective houses.¹⁷ In most Indian houses one corner of a room is given to the gods. This room however, whatever its other uses (as store-room, dining room or kitchen), is often referred to as *deoghar* — the house of the gods. The northern family often breaks up at the death of the man who first founded it. He may be the father or a very vigorous grandfather, who has succeeded in keeping together four generations of males. When such a family splits and there is partition, it almost never splits into as many units as there are individual families, but into smaller joint families made up of a man, his wife and children, son's sons and daughters; or a man, his wife and children and a couple of younger brothers who wish to have his protection or who may not be old enough to take care of themselves. In such cases the family gods remain in the ancestral home with the senior branch of the family.

Frequent divisions of the joint family result in the formation of new groups in new houses, and in course of time the ancestral property, being divided at each splitting, becomes splintered into uneconomic holdings which cannot support the new joint families. In olden times when famine, epidemics and wars constantly removed large sections of the populations, a multi-branched joint family could possibly go on living on the ancestral site, but with the removal of these agencies of population control and with the possibility of getting employment in modern industrial towns, junior members of the joint family tend to go out. Even so, instead of founding independent families in the towns where they are employed, they tend to keep their ties with the joint family. They send money to help farming at home, send their wives home for childbirth and go themselves for an occasional holiday or in times of need. The urge to visit the family during certain festive occasions and at the time of sowing and harvesting of crops is so great that there is a seasonal migration of factory labourers every year in all industrial towns. A man may earn good wages and yet find it difficult to procure a bride from a decent house if he has no family with some land in some village.

The northern family is strong in the unity of its men. This unity tends to break down because all the brides are from different houses. Also there is much rivalry among fathers and sons and

among collaterals.¹⁸ In the southern matrilineal family there are no affinals, i.e. relations by marriage. Sons may wish for a closer bond with the father, or a father may wish to secure property for his son, but this is debarred by the laws of inheritance. People brought up in a patrilineal house may think that life without fathers and husbands would be impossible, but it may not be so in actual practice. It is difficult to assess what the actual feelings of those who live in a *thārwad* are, because these communities have been greatly affected by contact with powerful patrilineal communities and sometimes mirror the sentiments of the latter. A serious study of the human values evolved in matrilineal communities before they came in contact with other communities, or at least felt the urge to imitate them, must be made from their literature, folk-tales, and songs and from studies of their personality development. On the face of it, the southern joint family does not have the internal stresses and strains which so often lead to the breaking of the northern joint family. Rivalries of brothers, co-wives and sisters-in-law, and between daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law do not seem to form a theme of the songs and proverbs of the matrilineal people. And yet a *thārwad* claiming descent from one ancestress breaks up into separate units. How and why the break occurs, I am unfortunately unable to point out, as I have not studied the Kerala family from that point of view. In modern times a *thārwad* breaks because of the urge in the males to found single families. An educated man migrates say to Delhi or Bombay where he has a job and lives in a single family made up of himself, his wife and children. It leads to both the husband and the wife leaving and gradually breaking away from their ancestral *thārwads*. What is of interest is to find out how the *thārwad* broke up into several units in olden days. I was told that a *thārwad* did not break into several fragments all at one time as did the northern joint family, but that when a house became too small for its inhabitants, one of the women together with her elder brother, or one of her mother's brothers was asked to separate. Land was allotted to her and a new house built and she became the founder of a new *thārwad*. A recent study reveals that owing to new tenancy laws which discourage absentee landlordship the tendency for splitting old big *thārwads* has grown. Younger branches are now settled in new *thārwads* in neighbouring villages where the old *thārwad* held land.¹⁹

Thus the joint family is a community in itself which provides a

person with almost all physical and cultural necessities. A man born in a joint family in the northern zone has a very large number of playmates of his own generation. He may be with the mother during feeding times only. At other times he may be looked after by one or two aunts (father's brother's wives) or grandmothers (father's mother or father's father's brothers' wives). He and the other little ones, once they are weaned from the mother's breast, may also be sleeping with the grandmother. His initiation ceremony is generally performed together with cousins of his own age. In India it used not to be the proper thing for a man to fondle his own child in the presence of other members of the family or when strangers were present. So a child is generally fondled by one of the grandfathers (father's father or father's father's brothers) or younger uncles (father's brothers). He is thus not dependent on his own parents physically and psychologically as is a child in a non-joint family. His sisters are generally with the women folk. After initiation (called *Upanayana* in Sanskrit) he generally spends much of his time in the company of boys and men. After marriage he may see his wife now and then moving and working with other young brides in the house. He ceremonially commences to live with her after she reaches puberty and then also his sexual life is regulated by the wishes of his mother and aunts. A man can speak to his wife only occasionally when young. When he grows up and has children, he may speak to her more often but even then direct address to her is forbidden by convention. He is fed and cared for by the women-folk but his life is mostly spent in the world of men. The women have a joint life of their own in which adaptation to other women is as important as adaptation to the husband's wishes. When a woman is ill or in childbed she is looked after by other women, who also look after the older children. Husband-wife relationship in such a household does not take up a primary position in one's life. In a patrilineal household a man does not have to change his ways of life or become a stranger to his old friends because he is married. The wife neither demands nor gets the all absorbing attention that she does in the Western household. The woman has many new and far-reaching adaptations to make after her marriage but they are not in terms of a life of all absorbing passion of two people together. She has to adjust herself to a big group of men and women. The loyalty to her husband is loyalty to the agnatic joint family of the husband. The question of divided loyalties arises only when the husband quarrels with his kin.

Though a woman is often depicted as the breaker of the joint family, not seldom does she bind together the elements which would otherwise fall out.

A joint family of this type is always an exciting group to live in. All the time something of interest is happening there. Now it is the marriage of a girl or a boy, now it is an initiation ceremony, the birth of a new baby, the puberty rites of a new bride, a particular family ritual, a fast, a feast and sometimes a death. The wide extent of the family always ensures the coming and going of guests. The brothers of the brides come to invite them to their mothers' houses, the daughters of the house are being brought home for a family feast or wedding. There is always bustle and expectation, laughter and quarrels, discussions and plans. Life may be complicated, sometimes full of bitterness, always full of quarrels and petty jealousies, but rarely dull, at least from the point of view of the children.

The joint family is a miniature world, in some ways standing apart, in others inextricably bound up in a never ending ceremonial of exchanges and gift-giving with all the other joint families with whom it has affinal connections. The regulative force outside of the jurisdiction of the family elders is the caste and the village, the caste being the circle for endogamy. In a given radius all the families in a caste can ultimately be shown to be related to each other. The village is the group which regulates the economic life of the joint family. When a famine occurs it is not the caste that migrates but the village. Even nomadic castes undertake their yearly migrations in groups of families. Among them different families have their own itinerary for visiting a certain territory and other families are not allowed to encroach on their region. The inter-familial behaviour is regulated by the caste. As the organization of the family has been dealt with in great detail in the following pages, it need not be gone into further here.

Some recent studies carried out at the Deccan College, Poona, have shown that joint, and sometimes non-joint families give shelter and protection to relatives who have no legal or religious claims on them. The patrilineal joint family sometimes in as many as 18 per cent of the sample in one area included widowed sisters or daughters and their children. In about 1 to 5 per cent families, more distant relatives (wife's parent or siblings, mother's parent or siblings) also find shelter.²⁰ In a country where wars were continuous and dacoities frequent and where religious institutions or the state offered little to alleviate the sufferings of the people,

it was the joint family which provided the much needed security to a very large number of people. The caste and the family form therefore one circle of individual relationship in which a person finds certain satisfactions and plays certain roles. This circle touches another, which comprises activities which are mainly of the economic type —the village. In this circle an individual comes in contact with people of other castes and where his duties and rights in relation to these other castes are defined.²¹ The individual and the family to which he belongs are the primary initiators of behaviour. They may deviate from the norms set up by the caste. In some cases caste may ultimately sanction an innovation (see page 18). In the alternative the caste may reject the new pattern and excommunicate the individual or the whole family for accepting it. In olden days excommunication was a terrible thing. A man was barred entrance into the house of a caste member, denied food or shelter and had to leave the village because the village always upheld the decision of the caste. The British government in India made it possible for people to withstand the pressure of the caste because the first reformers were employed by government or semi-government agencies which were outside the jurisdiction of the caste or the village.²² Even so the caste could make its power felt. A few years ago in the city of Sholapur in Maharashtra a rich man of the Vaddar caste tried to defy his caste. Among the Vaddars there is a taboo against women wearing a bodice. They may wear rich saris or gold ornaments, but must never wear a bodice or a blouse. The gentleman ordered his women folk to wear these like the women of all the other castes. He and his family were promptly excommunicated and after a few weeks of resistance they had to give up the innovation, make an abject apology and pay a heavy fine before they were admitted back into the fold. This happened before 1953. Recently the same caste has made a new innovation by ordering its women-folk to wear a blouse. This time it is the caste which is the primary initiator of a change.

Thus the linguistic region, the caste and the family are the three most important aspects of the culture of any group in India. This applies also to what are called the primitive tribes of India. These tribes have lived with the others for thousands of years. When the Vedas began their records, the difference between the cultural level of the conquering Aryans and the conquered forest dwellers (Dasyus) could not have been very great. Both were illiterate and both were polytheistic. The Aryans had cattle and

horses. The Dasyus probably grew rice in forest clearings. The Aryans needed open country for grazing their cattle and cultivation with the plough. They burnt the jungles. As the jungles were being burnt the tribals were driven southwards and eastwards and were thus cut off from active intercourse with the life in the plains. The Aryans and those of the original people who remained in the jungles possibly lost some features of their original culture. I have called this a process of progressive primitivisation.²³ Many other people in India, once known as conquerors and empire builders were reduced to a state of poverty and nomadism. The Aryans and the people they conquered freely exchanged ideas, words, materials and processes. The primitives use a kinship terminology which is made up of Sanskritic words to the extent of fifty per cent. They cannot be treated as an isolated people. The caste and the tribe are two concepts which are almost interchangeable in certain contexts. A caste of today (e.g. the Mahars of Maharashtra) may have been a former tribal group. A group of tribes (e.g. the Rajputs, the Ahirs) may function like a caste. The governmental self-sufficiency of a caste may be a vestige of tribal organization. The cultural process in India, where juxtaposed groups live together and where a gradual exchange takes place, makes it possible for the primitive to live side by side with the sophisticated, and one finds again and again the caste groups showing features of primitive organization and the primitives showing the most sophisticated institutions and attitudes. The primitives are an organic part of the Indian life and cannot be treated separately as something fundamentally different from the rest.

A sharp distinction between them and the Indian agriculturist cannot be made and yet there are some features which make it necessary to differentiate the forest dwellers from the agriculturists. The forest dwellers are generally called the tribal or the primitive people. They do not have the elaborate caste system of the rest of the Hindu population, though among some tribes there are social divisions which can well be termed castes. In this essay these people have been designated as tribal or primitive people.

The present day cultural problems before India largely revolve round three entities — language, caste and family — as the following examples will show. The tendency is to minimise the differences and establish uniformities. Some people would much rather have a unitary state with one language rather than a fede-

ration with many linguistic states. The new Indian State has abolished in law all privileges and discriminations connected with the caste system. It wishes to abolish the very mention of the word caste. The establishment of a uniform civil code for all citizens is a directive principle of the Indian constitution. So far a number of laws have been passed which however apply only to Hindus and not to others. This action is contrary to the professions about a secular state, which has the task of governing a multicultural, multireligious society. A state as the highest regulating system has a right to shape the lives of the individuals it governs. Welding of the Indian sub-continent into a nation is a great cultural task, but very often the urge for uniformity destroys much that from an ethical and cultural point of view can be allowed to remain. The need for uniformity is an administrative need, not a cultural one.²⁴ If we assert that our society is multicultural, we must recognize that we are also a society with many alternate values and many alternate ways of life, we must not destroy them under the pretence of building a nation. The path to uniformity is one of tyranny and we shall lose our first cultural value if we make uniformity our goal.

II

THE METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

THE present investigation was started in the year 1938-1939 in Maharashtra and then extended to other parts of India. While working in Maharashtra I became gradually aware of what may be called the cultural *Gestalt* of a linguistic region. Briefly stated, it was as follows : In Maharashtra there is a group forming about forty per cent of the population and made up of various interconnected castes called Maratha and Kunbi.²⁵ The Marathas claim to be Kshatriyas or warriors and gradually the Kunbis are calling themselves Marathas and claiming the same rank. This process may be called Marathization in the narrower sense. This group is at its strongest in central Maharashtra. It owns land, is expert in dry farming,²⁶ has a certain clan organization, typical marriage customs and a particular type of kinship organization which is based firstly on one type of cross-cousin marriage and secondly on clans organized on a hierarchical principle.

The kinship terms are almost all purely Sanskritic in origin but reflect a Dravidian kinship organization. Strong patriarchal families with partrilineal succession and inheritance are coupled

with certain customs suggestive of strong matrilineal bonds. Round this Maratha-Kunbi group of castes can be placed other castes who follow and definitely imitate the Maratha peculiarities. These are castes like the Mali (gardener),²⁷ Nhavi (barbar), Parit (Washer-man), Mahar and Chambhar (the lowest castes of hereditary village servants whose main work consists of removing dead cattle and skinning them). They also do other work like carrying messages, providing wood for cremation, etc. Some Brahmin castes like the Deshastha R̥gvedi Brahmins are closely associated with the Marathas. On the other hand there are castes which do not allow cross-cousin marriage, but which are so far influenced by the common practice of the region that an occasional case of such a marriage is condoned. A minority of castes follows quite different practices as regards marriage. All these castes within one region could be arranged in two ways : (1) according to their connection with the main Maratha-Kunbi group, or (2) geographically, i.e. according to the territory they occupy within the linguistic region. This double plotting gives an insight into the process of acculturation and accommodation going on within such an area. The model of the Maratha-Kunbi group is followed by those Brahmins who have been associated with them in this central region e.g. the Brahmin caste named Deshastha R̥gvedi. We have another Brahmin caste found primarily in the north and east of Maharashtra — Madhyandina — which is not influenced at all by the Maratha practices. Again the Kunbis who have come within the Maratha sphere of influence have a social organization very similar to theirs. But the northern Berar Kunbis show a more varied, and in some respects, widely differing organization. Some castes show complete acculturation with what may be termed the Maratha complex, while others show a great resistance and appear like isolated cultural islands. A large number of the traits of various castes can be interpreted in terms of functional association and geographical position, for example the Marathas in the Central region frown upon a man's marriage with his father's sister's daughter, while the Marathas in the south of Maharashtra practice this form of marriage following the example of their southern Dravidian neighbours, the people of Karnatak. The R̥gvedi Deshastha Brahmins of Maharashtra go a step further and practise the marriage of a man to his elder sister's daughter — a usual form of marriage in Karnatak. Physical proximity however is not a sufficient explanation, because in the same towns and villages the Madhyandin Brahmins allow neither of the two types of mar-

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riage and adhere strictly to northern customs. Researches have shown that the Madhyandin Brahmins are late comers from the North into the area which they occupy now. This insight into the internal structure of a linguistic region was gained through my travels through that region, taking towns and villages in my itinerary.

The caste has its own modes of behaviour including those about marriage. Each caste goes on following its modes. There are no institutions like a central church or a common law to enforce certain patterns and yet people living together and speaking the same language tend gradually towards certain uniformities through imitation. Immigrant groups which come with their own gods, speech, marriage practices, etc. gradually adopt local gods, local speech and local customs. Thus over one linguistic region uniformities are found which justify the region being considered as a cultural region. One example of this type is worth recording. Khandesh is the north western district of Maharashtra with a common northern boundary with Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. In north Khandesh there are agriculturists called Gujars. They marry among themselves and have no contacts beyond the border. Their men speak Marathi, their women do not speak it too well. The dress of the men is Marathi but among the women a very large number still dress in the central Indian way. Their rules of marriage are like those in north India. At the time the author visited the area an important meeting of the caste council was held in order to decide whether a young man wanting to marry his mother's brother's daughter should be allowed to do so. After a debate lasting for two days it was allowed. One of the caste elders remarked, "we can't swim against the stream. All people around us practise such a marriage and youngsters get ideas in their heads".

I moved from region to region collecting information about kinship practices and terminology. The contacts were established through friends, students and government officials. Supposing I had an acquaintance in Dharwar in Karnatak, I would make that my first station and then get introduced to the friends and relatives of these acquaintances who, in their turn, would take me to their homes and villages. I travelled from place to place, never knowing where my next stop was to be nor where my next meal was to come from. I take this opportunity to record my heartfelt thanks to the hundreds of people who helped me through these wanderings, who gave me a glimpse into different regional cultures and attitudes, and fed me and sheltered me. Rest pauses between

work, meal times, travel in buses full of people and in third class railway compartments filled with men and women gave the opportunities I sought for collecting kinship material. A small beginning would be sufficient to set the ball rolling and each would come out with his or her stories. I had naturally to tell also about myself, about my husband and children and the parents-in-law and the others would tell about their kin. At such times it was not always possible or advisable to take notes. Kinship terms and situations involving personal narratives for family usages, scraps of songs and proverbs were however taken down. The working day meant over twelve hours of work. After coming back to Poona the data would be looked into and verified linguistically by referring to some good dictionary and then a study of some literature would be undertaken to find out how far the literature reflected the kinship attitudes. These studies were very rewarding. They revealed the intimate connection between literature and social, especially kinship organization and helped to interpret certain facts which had seemed obscure to me. Such studies also gave a feeling of sureness while dealing with people. A few examples will suffice to show how these studies helped in the understanding of the present attitudes and changes.

When I was collecting material in Gujarat I found out that only certain castes practised junior levirate while all castes observed certain patterns of behaviour which one would expect from levirate customs. A woman must never speak to and always cover her face in front of the elder brother of her husband, while she can be very familiar with his younger brother. An old Brahmin scholar objected strongly to my interpretation of the joking relationship between a woman and her husband's younger brother as pointing to sexual mating in the past. He stoutly maintained that to a man the *bhābī* (elder brother's wife) was like a mother or an elder sister and the familiarity between them that of a mother with her son or of an elder sister with her brother. He also drew my attention to the modern fiction and a cinema film then running in Bombay where such a role was depicted on the part of the *bhābī*. He agreed that among certain castes levirate was practised but denied that the implications of that relationship could be carried to people who did not practise such a custom.

The situation in modern Gujarat and Kathiawad was as follows : (1) There were words denoting kinship of different types which were used by all people ; (2) there were certain kinship practices which were also common to all people. One of these was that a

woman must cover her face completely or partially in the presence of her husband's elder brother. A man and a woman in such relationship must either avoid each other or keep a certain distance and observe circumspection. There was also a custom which allowed a woman to joke and speak freely with her husband's younger brother. A man and a woman in such a relationship could sprinkle coloured water on each other at the time of the festival of *Holi*. (3) The population was divided however into two groups, a higher caste group, mostly urban, and a lower caste group, mostly rural. The first group did not practise levirate and its literature treated the elder brother's wife on par with the mother or elder sister. The second group still occasionally practised levirate, but did not like to own up to the practice.

To sum up, the kinship terminology and joking and avoidance patterns were common to all, but the junior levirate, which one would expect from the two was not present in one group and present, but not overtly admitted by the other group.

I showed to the learned Pundit three references²⁸ from the literature of Gujarat and Kathiawad, which definitely recorded levirate practices among higher castes. In one poem the address *bhābī* (elder brother's wife) was taken as a term of insult by the woman so addressed and she consigned herself to flames for such public insult. The Pundit read carefully all the references, came next day to see me, agreed with my interpretation, and gave me some information which I would never have got by myself. This was, that in his part of Gujarat, village women used the word *diyor* (younger brother of the husband) as a term of contempt and abuse for any man they despised. This was the usage one would have expected from the story referred to above (*bhābī* = woman paramour; *diyor* = man paramour). The same scholar also told me that people of the higher castes, who did not generally practise levirate did so in cases of poverty. This investigation of literary records also showed that at one time levirate practices were common among all castes of Gujarat. The modern situation however was that the higher, more educated and urbanised castes had given it up. A reference to past literature and present practices clearly showed the change which was coming over a society and also pointed out which groups were the most exposed to modern Western contact and change and which of them were more resistant. The diachronic study of this type makes assessment of quantity and direction of change and the identity of the affected groups possible. It shows the relationship of the

“Great Tradition” and the “Little Tradition”. It also clarifies the environmental differences between the “urban” and the “rural”.

In the course of investigation about kinship organization different types of data and different aspects of social relationship come up — kinship terms, kinship usages, influence or role of women and men *de facto* and *de jure*, attitudes and personality development, change and durability of various usages. Observation in field of the present is greatly helped and some aspects are elucidated by an examination of written records. Social movement through change in meaning of kinship terms or through adoption of new terms, through variance in words and usages becomes clear. Sometimes words and usages, not properly understood, become clear through a story.

The “great tradition” is well documented in the main literary stream. There are also glimpses of the “little tradition” in certain types of recorded literature. The hymn books, the ritual treatises, the epics, the dramas, the poems, didactic literature, philosophical books, etc. represent the “great tradition”. There are records of stories and songs in Sanskrit, but especially in Prakrit languages which reveal to some extent the “little tradition”. Lastly, during the last fifty years, songs and stories of illiterate peasants have been recorded by anthropologists and by men and women of literature. In India there are special songs sung by women. These are handed down through oral tradition by women and represent a special type of “little tradition”. They reveal aspects of kinship structure not found in the literature of men, which makes up the “great tradition”.

In times of culture contact the “great tradition” is the first to record the effect of the new impact. The literature of the last 150 years shows vividly the reflection of the British liberal and utilitarian philosophies during the first reform movements and the up-to-date literature reflects the literary movements in the English speaking world. The social reform movements in Maharashtra and Gujarat and the social-cum-religious movement of the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal and the essays, novels and short stories of the times illustrate this. The innovators or transformers are urban people, and urban castes dominated the new thought.²⁹ Since freedom, there is a new interest in the own past, but even this nostalgic, romantic revivalism cannot stem the processes of change which have got going in the last century.

It is not enough to know about just the modern setting. In song and drama, the deeply religious poetry and homely proverbs, in al-

most all languages of India as far back as literary records exist, the family situation has been exploited in a hundred different ways. A study of these illumines the present situation as it is enacted before our eyes. Words, gestures, customs, gain a meaning which would escape us if we did not know this long history and its record.

Not only is this knowledge of the past useful to gain an insight into the life of the agricultural population, but it is also necessary for a proper study of those called primitives.

The interrelation of the primitives and the other Indians cannot be evaluated on the analogy of the relation between the primitives and the whites, such as the American Indians and the American Whites, the Africans and the Europeans, or the Maoris and the Europeans. In all these cases, the Whites and primitives developed apart in space and time and then were suddenly thrown together a few hundred years ago. In India the primitives and the others have lived together for over two or three thousand years. The primitives have almost all the social institutions and elaborate rites of the non-primitives, while the Hindus actively share all the beliefs of the primitives. In such a context, one must use great caution before dubbing something as primitive. The penetration into Hindu life of what is thought of as primitive and its long record is surprising, and a knowledge of it would help to understand better the primitives and the others. I give only two cases from scores known to me. Elwin has noted in his book the peculiar belief of the Baiga that the rainbow emerges out of an anthill.³⁰ This belief was recorded by Kalidasa in one of his poems (Meghaduta, verse 15, line 2) giving a description of the rainy season : "From the top of an anthill arises the bow of the god Indra." In Sanskrit and in the modern Indian languages the rainbow is called "Indra's bow". The anthill is the house of the cobra. The cobra is supposed to have a shining jewel on the top of its hood and the rays emerging from the jewel out of the top of the anthill give rise to the phenomenon known as Indra's bow during the rainy season. This however is the explanation of the line by a late commentator. What Kalidasa was actually referring to we do not know. The Baigas think that the rainbow arises from a gourd in the anthill. In this context the Baiga belief raises problems quite different from what they would be if it was merely an isolated Baiga idea.

Elwin also mentions a king Shriyal and his queen Changuna appearing in various stories of the Gonds. Shriyal and Changuna are well-known personalities in the songs and stories of the Maharashtra region. In Karnatak Shriyala-Shetti and Changalike-

Avva have a festival of their own.³¹ The story of Shriyal and his queen Changuna is told in a late medieval Shaivaite book and I understand from my Kannada colleague, Professor D.R. Bendre of Sholapur, that Shriyal is not merely a mythical personality. He is also mentioned as an army officer and a petty chief.

This story, which apparently had its origin in the south, is found over a very wide region today. It spread into Maharashtra with the Shaiva literature of the south. Was it taken to the Gonds also by itinerant story tellers or were the Gonds in possession of it before they pushed northwards into the Mahakoshala region? If so, would it give us an approximate date for the northward movement of the Gonds? Does the possession of this story show a cultural affinity of the Gonds with the Kannada people as some linguists assert on the basis of linguistic analogies? Thus what has been described as a current myth among the Gonds has a very wide distribution among the non-primitive people in Maharashtra and Karnatak.

I myself started the inquiry as a field worker and turned to the written records only when I could not understand some of the data I had collected and found that the written literature helped me to understand my field notes. Words which I had taken down without understanding their full significance became clear when I found them in the context of a story or in a poem. Usages which had appeared strange to my urban upbringing could be placed in their proper setting and perspective when found recorded. This does not mean that I could find everything corroborated by record, but even that which was thus not recorded, according to my limited amount of search and reading, gained in meaning from a better knowledge of the recorded elements. A people's literature has a peculiar relation to their social institutions. In some kind of literature the social institutions are idealized, in another they are ridiculed; in a third the literature is starkly realistic. All the time a particular type of evaluation of social institutions is found in literature and I found this interrelation of the written or oral literature and the actual social institutions as lived by people a fascinating study in idealization, rationalization, self-castigation, self-criticism, suggestion and imitation on the part of a society. The cultural lag between the literary norm and the actual conduct is itself a study of enormous value and for such complicated cultures as that of India as essential as field studies.

The following study in kinship is based on personal inquiry supplemented by readings in Sanskrit, Pali, Ardhamagadhi, Hindi,

Gujarati, Marathi and Maithili. Inability to read the southern languages has made me feel as if a blank wall stretched before me and so I endeavoured to read Tamil with my colleague Professor C. R. Sankaran. Even that little reading was of very great use to me in giving a glimpse into the Tamil thought and idiom and I record my grateful thanks to him for his kindness and patience.

To Indian readers things like the resumé of the Mahabharata story (Appendix) may appear redundant, but I found that the average non-Indian anthropologist knew very little of Indian literary traditions and sometimes did not care for them either. To him this appears as a useless, nostalgic dipping into a vanished past. I assure him that that past lives with us even today vividly, obstinately and sometimes obtrusively and must be known by everyone interested in the present.

III

THE material on Indian kinship has been presented in the following pages as belonging to four cultural zones : (1) the northern, (2) the central, (3) the southern (4) the eastern. Zones 1 and 2 comprise the language area of the Sanskritic Indo-European languages; zone 3 is made up of the Dravidian language area, while the 4th zone includes the scattered area wherein Austric or Mundari languages are spoken.

The description of the kinship organization of the northern zone is divided into two parts. The first is devoted to material found in ancient Sanskrit records with a short note which adds kinship terms in Pali found in Buddhist literature and in Ardhamagadhi found in Jain literature. These terms are useful for understanding the meaning of modern kinship terms used in Sanskritic and Dravidian languages.

The second part is devoted to a description of a generalized model for the whole of northern India called the northern zone and kinship terms in the northern languages (Punjabi, Sindhi, Hindi, Bihari, Bengali, Assamese and Pahadi) are given and briefly explained.

The central zone includes central India, i.e. Rajathan, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Gujarat and Maharashtra. In this zone people speak languages predominantly Sanskritic, though it also includes many tribes speaking Dravidian and Mundari languages as will become evident from the map. The kinship organization in the central zone, though modelled on the northern pattern, shows some

very significant differences which can best be described as being due to culture contact with the other two zones, especially the southern zone of the Dravidian language area.

The description of the southern zone is given in two parts. The first part tries to give the whole Dravidian system and its differences from the northern system. In the second part short descriptions of the kinship systems and terms of the linguistic regions of the Dravidian area are given.

The author thinks that her interpretation of the Southern system is of great significance for Indian cultural anthropology. The kinship organization in the various regions within this language area and of different castes and tribes within each region are presented as adjustments necessitated by cultural contact.

The eastern zone and its kinship organization are described in the next chapter. A new chapter has been added in this new edition, dealing with inheritance and succession in the northern and southern zones.

The concluding chapter indicates some important problems for research arising out of the present investigation.

REFERENCES

¹ The speakers of Rajasthani are generally not referred to by a single name. The best way to designate them would be "Rajasthani" on the analogy of the other names. I have mentioned the two most important castes of this region.

² Kathiawad (old name — Saurashtra) and Gujarat together have no single name to designate their linguistic unity. The two parts, though intimately bound, have a separate dynastic and cultural history. They now form, together with Cutch, a single State, Gujarat, in the Indian Union.

³ Konkani as spoken in south Konkan is an independent language. In north Konkan, a dialect of Marathi, also called Konkani is spoken. The two should not be confused.

⁴ Tulu was once a very important language and many inscriptions are found in it. There is no one word for the people, comprising a few castes, who speak this language at present. Bant is the name of the most important caste speaking Tulu.

⁵ The Coorg Hills are a part of south Mysore. The Kodagu language is very much like Kannada.

⁶ The Nilgiri Hills are on the border of Kerala, Mysore and Madras and all the three languages are spoken there. The Toda is an old Dravidian language spoken by a forest people called Toda.

⁷ The Mundari, Juang, Bondo and Gadaba languages are apparently separate languages akin to each other. The Mundari, Santhal and Khasi languages have been studied and vocabularies and grammars of these exist. The

others named above have not been studied so exhaustively.

⁸ The exceptions to endogamy are represented by the Nambudri and Nayar castes of Kerala, certain circles within the Maratha-Kunbi caste cluster of Maharashtra, and the Rajputs. These are legitimate marriages giving the progeny a certain definite status and rights of succession and inheritance either in the mother's family or in the father's family. Besides these there is extra-marital relationship between castes. These extra-marital relationships were sometimes of the nature of life-long association, called concubinage in this book. In older Hindu law the concubine and her progeny had certain rights in the property of the master and father. See the author's *Hindu Society — An Interpretation*, Deccan College, Poona, 1961.

⁹ I. KARVE, "What is Caste?" *Economic Weekly*, Bombay, 1958-59.

¹⁰ Examples of caste ranking will be found in the work of MCKIM MARRIOTT, ADRIAN MEYER, etc.

¹¹ P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmashastra*.

G. S. GHURYE, *Caste and Race in India*, Bombay, 1950.

I. KARVE, *Op. Cit.*

¹² I. KARVE, "The Indian Village," BDCRI, XVIII, pp. 74-106.

¹³ e.g. Daivadnya Sonar.

¹⁴ Some Rajput houses are supposed to have arisen out of fire. In Andhra the author found a fisher folk claiming themselves to be Agni-Kula (fire-descended) Kshatriyas.

¹⁵ NARMADESHVAR PRASAD, "The Myth of the Caste System", *Samjna Prakashan*, Patna—1957, p. 47.

The great Maratha Saint Tukaram was Vani (shopkeeper) by profession and Kunbi by caste.

¹⁶ In Sind there were only Brahmins and trading communities called Bhai-band and Amil. In Bengal, there were Brahmins, a few trading people, a few Shudra castes and a relatively large proportion of a caste called Kayastha.

¹⁷ I. KARVE, "A family through six generations", *Anthropology on the March*, Madras, 1963, pp. 241-262.

¹⁸ J. S. RANADIVE has shown (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Poona, 1961) that of all joint families recorded by him, the largest number is that of the type called *lineal*, the next is *lincol* and *collateral*, and only very few are *collateral*. Lineal families are those in which two, three or four generations of males (grand-father, father, ego and sons) with their spouses and children live together. Lineal-collateral contains brothers and cousins of the males and their wives also; collateral families are made up of only brothers and cousins with their wives living together. The "father" or "grandfather" holds a family together and it tends to break with the death of such a patriarch. See also article under footnote 17.

¹⁹ See Chapter VII on "Succession and Inheritance".

²⁰ I. KARVE, *Hindu Society — An Interpretation*, Deccan College, Poona 1961.

²¹ See reference 10 above.

²² D. D. KARVE, *The New Brahmans*, University of California Press, 1963. p. 47.

²³ I. KARVE, *Man*, Vol. LI, October 1951.

²⁴ I. KARVE, *Hindu Society — An Interpretation*, Deccan College, Poona, 1961.

²⁵ Outside Maharashtra all Marathi-speaking people are referred to as Marathas; but in Maharashtra, the word "Maratha" is applied to a caste.

²⁶ Farming with the aid of monsoon rains only, i.e. without irrigation or well-water.

²⁷ Market gardeners who are experts in farming irrigated lands.

²⁸ For original see: *Gujarat Tatha Kathiawad Deshani Varta*, (in Gujarati), parts 1 and 2, Gujarat Vernacular Translation Society, Ahmedabad, 1935. I. KARVE, BDCRI, Vol. IV, No. 3.

²⁹ In the same way the Kayastha castes of the Delhi region imitated outwardly certain practices of the Muslim rulers and took up the Urdu language.

³⁰ V. ELWIN, *The Baiga*, London, Murray, 1939, p. 336.

³¹ The folk festival of Shiralshet in Maharashtra may be the same in origin as the one in Karnatak, though the stories and the modes of celebration are different.

CHAPTER II

KINSHIP USAGES IN ANCIENT AND HISTORICAL PERIODS

(A) DATA FROM THE VEDAS AND BRAHMANAS¹

THERE are no genealogies in these works. Hymns, phrases, stories or fragments of them and, in the Brahmanas, ritual matters are found. These, however, enable us to construct a picture of kinship organization and usages, which form the basis for later practices and which, in their turn, find explanation through the more copious data of later times.

The words found in these books show two types of arrangement : (a) arrangement in generations, and (b) a division into two sets of terms, one for the members of the family of birth and the other for the members of the family by marriage. In each set, there are distinct terms for three generations of persons.

The words for the ego's generation are : *bhrāṭṛ* = brother; *svasṛ* = sister. Both these words are used in the plural to mean brothers and sisters together. Thus *bhrātarah* and *svasarah* mean *geschwister* and *siblings*.

The words for the generation of the parents of the ego are : *pitr*, *tata*, *tāta* = father; *mātr*, *ambī*, *nanā* = mother. *Tata* and *tāta* appear to be terms of affection, which could be used apparently also for a son.² The word *nanā* is used extremely rarely. The word *ambī* or *ambā* occurs at some places.

The terms for the younger generation of the ego are : *sūnu*, *putra*, *napṭṛ* = son, a boy; *duhitṛ*, *kanyā*, *kanī*, *kanā* = daughter, a girl, a virgin. Of these, *sūnu* and *duhitṛ* are used exclusively with a kinship connotation. The word *putra* is also used for a son, but it is quite often used for any boy. From its form *napṭṛ* seems to belong to a set of kinship terms ending in *ṛ*, but already in the oldest Ṛgveda, it is used to denote a descendant. In the same way *kanyā*, *kanā* and *kanī* are used to mean "the little one, female" and also the virgin girl.

Terms for the generation above the father appear rarely and are derived either from the word for father or by the addition of a prefix or a suffix to it. *Pitā-maha* (father-great) is the paternal grandfather and *pra-pitā-maha*, the great grandfather.

The dual of the word *pitr* is used for both the parents, the father and mother, while its plural is used for all the dead ancestors, especially those who are receivers of food given to the dead. *Pitr* and *mātr* are qualified by certain adjectives and suffixes. The most significant of these are adjectives *janitā* and *janitrī*, which mean “the progenitor”. The expression *janitā pitā* and *janitrī mātā* would mean respectively “the progenitor father” and “progenitrix mother”. Nothing occurs beyond these expressions, but there is ground to believe, in view of what is recorded in certain stories and in view of what one finds in later literature which will be described further on, that there could be a *pitā* (father) or a *mātā* (mother) who were not progenitors. In the story of Sunahsepa³ we are told of a Brahmin boy who was “adopted” by the sage Vishvamitra and renamed Devarata.

The word *pitṛtama*⁴ occurs. It can be rendered as “the most fatherly of fathers”. The question whether it might indicate the existence of many fathers is discussed below.

At a few places the words *mātr-tame*⁵ and *ambītame*⁶ occur. *Tama* is a suffix of the superlative degree. The expression means “mother most”, i.e. most motherly. As the expression has a reference to “other mothers” among whom this particular one (a river) is the most motherly, it seems to suggest the existence of polygyny which, as we shall see later on, can be inferred from other terms and legends also. The same suffix occurs with *bhrātr* and the word then means “the most brotherly,” the best among brothers.

There is no word for a cousin of any type. The word *pitṛ-svasrīya* is found in some late verses of Ṛgveda, which seem to be interpolations. It means the daughter of the father’s sister. Neither are there any words for descendants below one’s own children’s generation except the word *napitr*, which has already been noted above.

Parallel to this set of words, there are words for three generations of affinal relations. These are, for the ego’s generation, *pati*, *bhartṛ* = husband; *jāyā*, *patnī*, *bhāryā* = wife (*bhāryā* occurs rather late); *jāyā-patī*, *dampatī* (both in dual) = husband and wife, together; *devṛ* = brother of husband (probably younger brother); *nanāndṛ* = husband’s sister; and *syāla* = brother of the wife. For the generation above that of the ego, there are only two words, *ṣvaśura* = father-in-law; *ṣvaśrū* = mother-in-law. And for the generation below that of the ego, again there are only two words, *jāmātr* = son-in-law; *snuṣā* = daughter-in-law.

Two words denoting the bridegroom and the bride are respective-

ly, *vara* and *vadhū*. The former is used in the plural to denote the people on the groom's side; another word, *jan yah*⁷ (plural of *janī*) is used for the people belonging to the bride's party. *Vadhūyu* one who wants a bride, occurs both in Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda.

Two special words which are of interest are *agre-didhiṣuḥ-pati* and *e-didhiṣuḥ-pati*. The former occurs in the Aitareya version of Yajurveda and the latter in the Vājasaneyā version.⁸ The expression means "the husband of a woman who marries before her elder sister is married."

Some of these words need explanation. *Pati*, used most often for husband is also used otherwise compounded with other words or alone, without any kinship connotation, and means "lord, master or possessor". In this sense it has a different form of inflection from that when it means "husband", though this rule is not universal, especially in the older literature. *Pati* in the sense of master or ruler is found in the following ascending series:

dampati = the lord of the house, also said of the gods Indra, Agni, etc. In dual it is used for "husband and wife" as the two rulers of the house; *gr̥ha-pati* = master of the house; *vāstoṣpati* = the (ancestral?) spirit guarding the house; *jāspati* = the head of a (lineage?) family; *viśāmpati* = the ruler of people, the king, the head of the tribe. Thus the word *pati*, from the very beginning of the literary record, has meant "the possessor" or "the ruler", as also "the husband". The legal position of the husband, which becomes quite explicit in later literature, leaves one in no doubt at all that the husband (= *pati*) had the rights of the master or possessor over his wife.

Bhartṛ is generally used for "husband", but it is also used in its root meaning and then connotes "one who feeds". In this word the obligation or duty of the husband *vis-à-vis* the wife is emphasized. The oldest words for wife are *jāyā* and *patnī*. The former seems to mean "one who gives birth to children". As such, any woman could claim to be a *jāyā*. The word does not denote any status, but the children apparently could inherit. *Patnī* is the feminine of *pati* and appears to have a status connotation in such words as *Jās-patnī* or *gr̥ha-patnī*. This is made absolutely clear in the literature immediately following this period (see part B). That the word has a status connotation even in the Vedas can be inferred from the words *sa-patnī* (co-wife, rival) and *sa-patna* (any rival, especially used in connection with the rivalry of kings or Brahmins). There are magical formulas in which the words *patnī* or *sapatna* are used for a rival.

Bhāryā occurs in the later texts of this period and is the counterpart of the word *bhartṛ*, the husband. *Bhartā* (nominative of *bhartṛ*) is the protector, the feeder; *bhāryā* is the protected or the fed female, therefore the wife.

The next important word is *devṛ*. It stands for the brother of the husband. In certain references it might yield a better meaning of the passage if it is taken to mean "the younger brother of the husband". This will be discussed further below.

The word *vadhū* for the bride has the root meaning, "one who is carried away". The procession in which the bride is taken away is called *vahatu* (= the procession), it also means "the things that the bride takes with her". The so-called "marriage hymn" in *Ṛgveda* (parts of which are recited at marriage ceremonies even today, in 1964) speaks of the groom coming to the bride's place and after the ceremony taking her some distance away. The evil spirits lurking on the way to harm the married pair are also mentioned in this hymn. It, therefore, appears to be a journey from one village to another.

These are kinship terms. As regards marriage and kinship usages, the data are meagre, but certain passages point to well-established usages and certain others to new clarifications. The most curious of these references are to sexual relations between *bhrātā* (brother) and *svasā* (sister). One occurs in a song,⁹ which incorporates a dialogue between the twins Yama and Yami (male and female respectively). The song opens with the words of Yami: "The god creator has made us man and wife (*dampatī*) in the womb itself". Yama, who is the god of death, refuses to consort with his sister and ends with the words: "It is immoral to consort with one's own sister, seek another." The story is told of the divine pair of twins having lived together in the womb and may have been compelled to marry. Yami's opening sentence may in fact give voice to a then prevalent belief. Twins were always a rare and fearful phenomenon and a number of superstitions are connected with twin births.

Sumner and Keller record that in Bali, an island much influenced by India, twins of different sexes were made to marry, while in other parts of the world they were put to death for having committed incest.¹⁰ The Yami story cannot be taken as pointing to a customary marriage between brothers and sisters. We may also note that there is a mention of marriages between siblings in the stories connected with the Sun-god and his children. The two Asvina twins, sons of Sun-god, were married to Surya, a daughter

of the Sun-god. There is a reference to this story in that part of the R̥gveda which is considered to belong to an earlier period, but in the tenth book, the story is changed so as to make Soma the husband of Surya. Manu, the father of mankind and a son of the Sun-god, is also supposed to have married either his daughter or his sister. These stories can also be safely discounted. They definitely do not point to a general custom of marriage between siblings. They are similar to all the great myths about creation where the first parents were siblings. The Sun-god is called the lover of "dawn" (*Uṣas* = *Eos*), his own sister. This reference can also be set aside.

There are, however, other references which cannot be dismissed so lightly. The earliest one is in the R̥gveda. The hymn is a magical incantation uttered to drive away and destroy the demon who causes abortion in women. The demon is supposed to have intercourse with a woman, enter her womb and then destroy the embryo. In order to have easy access to the woman, this demon is supposed to take the shape of any of those who generally approach her and sleep with her, and these are enumerated as the brother, the husband and the lover.

*"He who sleeps with you becoming your brother, husband or lover and who kills your progeny, him I destroy."*¹¹

This is an incantation apparently used by common people, and has no reference to gods. It must, therefore, refer to something quite customary in the society of those times.

Though it cannot be shown definitely by referring to genealogies, one can safely assume that in Vedic times many terms were used in a classificatory manner and that the terms "brother" and "sister" were very probably used for male and female children of parents' brothers and sisters also, i.e. for cousins. The references to brother-sister marriages or to brother-sister sexual relations must be to such relations between cousins. In the entire gamut of ancient Indian literature, there is not a single instance of a deliberate marriage or intercourse between brother and sister. Such a relationship was abhorred and so these early references, except in the case of the creation stories, may best be treated as references to marriages between cousins or marriages between persons belonging to the same patri-lineage.

As already stated there are no references to any marriage rules, nor is there any material from which genealogies can be constructed. A few practices can, however, be inferred. They are important for purposes of comparison with the later period. In a very

illuminating discussion of the words *ari*, *arya*, *aryaman* and *ārya*, P. von Thieme¹² has shown that the word *ari*, which in later classical literature always means “enemy”, has no such definite meaning in the Vedas. It means “the stranger”, “wayfarer”, the stranger very often coming for shelter. The gods Agni, Indra and Mitra are praised or exhorted to be friendly to the devotee, as a person is to a stranger seeking shelter. The stranger may be a welcome guest or turn out to be an enemy. *Ārya* is an adjectival derivative which means “one who is friendly and hospitable to strangers”. In a few places the word *ārya* seems to mean a man of the third *varṇa*, i.e. a Vaishya, who was supposed to be an agriculturist or a trader. Such a man was the householder *par excellence* and so was hospitable to strangers. The word *ārya*, which later on came to mean a man of the Aryan people also, is used unmistakably for the above meaning. The god Aryaman was the god who presided over marriage and brought luck to the married couple.

The word *ari* is thus ambivalent in its meaning, while all its derivatives suggest the meaning: extending of hospitality and shelter. The *ārya*, the stranger, could be a kinsman.

The marriage hymn which describes a journey, suggesting that the groom and the bride belonged to different localities and the word *vadhū* for bride (one who is carried away), also supports the above meaning of *ari*. It seems that marriages were contracted between persons of different villages, who were “strangers to one another”.

The word *sambhala* occurs at various places. In a prayer¹³ it is said, “O Agni, may a ‘wooer’ come to this girl”. Apparently, this “wooer” was not the future bridegroom, but a kind of a middleman come to view the girl and her house. At the time of the marriage, this *sambhala* is made to bear all the sins of omission and commission during the ritual. It is said¹⁴, “we wipe the sins on the blanket of the *sumbhala*”. “We place the sins on the *sambhala* and in his blanket”.

The mention of a go-between, i.e. a middle-man, who comes to the house and has a good look at the girl and her kin, depicts a situation not unlike that of the present day (see Chapter III on the Kinship Organization of the Northern Zone — The Present). This also shows that the groom and the bride belonged to different localities.

Other kinship practices can be inferred from the following references. There was apparently a relationship of avoidance between K...3.

the daughter-in-law and the father-in-law. It is said, "They creep away from the sun, as the daughter-in-law from her father-in-law."¹⁵

The words *jāmātṛ* and *syāla* occur together in one hymn and reflect a sentiment, which has been expressed again and again in later literature. The verse¹⁶ says, "Indra and Agni, I have heard that you always give far more than is ever given by the daughter's husband and wife's brother." These relatives are supposed to be miserly.

Before considering the next item, some discussion is necessary about a few words and verses. One such word is *jyeṣṭha*, which means "the eldest". It is used as an adjective, but sometimes almost like a substantive. The fire is called "our brother, our eldest"¹⁷; also "he who is the eldest in the house".¹⁸ "Agni, may he (the evil one) not kill the eldest. Save him from uprooting." The blessing uttered for the bride runs as follows: "Give progeny for this husband. May this son of thine be the eldest."¹⁹ In the same hymn the bride is blessed, "Be you supreme (like a reigning queen over all your affinal relations)."²⁰ Presumably the bride is marrying the eldest son of the family, who in the course of time shall rule the house. She is also blessed by saying that her son should be the eldest male of the next generation. These quotations are given to show that apparently the eldest among brothers and sons occupied some special position.

There is a prayer to god Varuna²¹: "May the eldest be not killed, Varuna, free the triple bonds of the father, the mother and the brother — the brother who is a *parivitta*".

God Varuna is the god of the moral order. The father, the mother and the *parivitta* brother have apparently broken a moral rule and are bound by Varuna's bonds. Apparently what they have done amounts to killing the eldest (brother?). This hymn is explained by a later commentator as an expiatory hymn when a younger brother married before the elder brother. *Parivitta* is a term applied to one who marries before the elder. A similar sentiment is expressed in another place where the words *edidhiṣu* and *agredidhiṣu* are used to mean one who marries a widow or the elder sister (of his wife?). This reference will be considered a little later.

The word *devṛ* occurs many times in the Vedas. In the marriage hymn, gods are exhorted to make the bride loving to the *devṛ*. Elsewhere, the *vidhavā* (widow) is mentioned as leading the *devṛ* to bed.²²

Another incantation, apparently used at the death of a man, contains two verses. In the first, the bereaved wife is described as sleeping (on the funeral pyre) near her husband. In the next verse, she is asked to get up and join the world of the living as the wife of the man (*devr* = a suitor), who has taken her hand and helped her to get up.²³

Further, in the Atharvaveda, there is described a magical ritual by which a widow marries again, and which ensures that she goes to heaven with her second husband and by which her bond with her first husband is finally broken.²⁴ The presumption here seems to be that in such a case the second suitor is somebody other than the *devr* (the brother of the husband).

The last reference in this context is a phrase in the marriage hymn quoted above. The priest says to the bride, "I set you free from the ties here (at the father's house) but not from these (the husband's house)." This transaction is compared to the plucking of a cucumber.

As already noted, no definite references occur about inheritance or succession or special rights of the elder brother or son. The word *devr* means simply the brother of the husband, but if one keeps in mind all the references quoted above, it seems as if it was thought to be a sin for the younger brother to marry before the elder. The way in which *devr* is connected with *vidhavā* and used in the bridal hymn suggests that he had sexual relations with the bride and that he had either the right or the duty to marry(?) the widow of his elder brother.

It seems that a girl on her marriage was given to a family. As far as possible it was the eldest brother who married her and after his death she belonged to his younger brother, the *devr*, while during the lifetime of the husband the *devr* could be her lover.

Why was the marriage of the younger brother before that of the elder considered a sin? It was possible that the eldest son succeeded to the station of the father — the station of *gr̥ha-pati*, the master of the house. His wife would, therefore, be the mistress, the *gr̥ha-patnī*. In all rituals, only a married man with his wife could officiate. So the ritual headship of the house also vested in the eldest son and his wife. It seems probable that the marriage of a younger brother before that of the elder was like depriving the first born of his rights of succession etc.²⁵ The marriage hymn describes the marriage of one individual with another, and not of one bride with a number of brothers. The other references make it possible that there was (junior) levirate, if not polyandry, with

definite rights of the eldest son.

One may also infer that the family was a joint patrilineal family made up of male members, their wives and unmarried daughters and married daughters who had been driven out of their husbands' houses after marriage. There are various references which tell of spinsters dwelling permanently at the father's house. Such women were called *amājū* (becoming old at home), *agru* (not pregnant?) or *pitṛsad* (sitting with the fathers).²⁶ A demon raised by black magic (*kṛtyā*) is told in one incantation: "May you go back to your master, like a discarded wife."²⁷

To sum up, in the earliest literature we find separate sets of terms for relatives belonging to the family of birth and for those belonging to the family joined by the bond of marriage. There are distinct and separate terms for three generations; the other terms are derived from these.

The terms seem to have been used in a classificatory sense. This is an inference based on the references made to sexual relations between brothers and sisters. "Brother" might mean cousin and "father" might mean uncle. Apparently marriages were "arranged" between families belonging to different localities and the bride and the groom, and also their families, were "strangers". This, together with the rather derogatory remarks about the daughter's husband and the wife's brother show that the attitude towards affinal relations was ambivalent and could range from the friendly to the inimical. There was a relation of avoidance between a man and his son's wife. There was a relation of extreme familiarity between a woman and her husband's younger brother ending in marriage in case she became a widow.

B. THE SECOND PERIOD OF ANTIQUITY

The period immediately following the first Upanishads is extended for the purpose of this survey from the first writing of the epic Mahabharata to the time of the poet Kalidasa. The reasons for this are as follows.

The Mahabharata story depicts a society and a family which have a number of similarities with Vedic society. It also provides genealogies, accounts of marriages and kinship usages. There are a few references to Smṛti, but Smṛti practices, especially those of the later books, do not seem to be well established in the epic story which forms a kind of bridge to them. While the epics were sung and while new additions were being made to them, the first of the

Śrauta Sūtras,²⁸ Gṛhya Sūtras and Smṛtis were being written. This literature consists of minute details of the rituals of religious sacrifices, familial rituals and rules of behaviour for different castes. It is of a didactic character and lays down rules of behaviour in different contexts. It must be remembered that these texts were used as norms right up to the present century. The British codified the rules into a "Hindu Law", but before the British they never had the full authority of law. The advice of judges versed in Smṛtis was sought by rulers, but side by side with these Brahmin adepts, elders belonging to different castes gave evidence about caste practices which determined a decision. During this period a good deal of didactic literature was produced. Attempts were made to classify and bring order into different practices, but the confusion persisted. Practices unknown to an author living in one region at a particular time are given as normal practices in a book the author of which lived in another region or at other times. What was said in one sacred Smṛti book could be refuted by showing the authority of another equally sacred book. Besides this literature, a large amount of narrative literature was also coming into existence at the time. This narrative literature ranges from epics to folk tales, stories depicting people belonging to the orthodox Hindu religion, as also stories written by the followers of the new sects of Buddha and Jina. Drama, poetry and treatises on politics like the Arthashastra were written during this time.

Kalidasa has been chosen because he was a man who consciously followed the ideals of the orthodox Hindu society and sought to illustrate them through his poems and dramas. He may be said to give flesh and blood through his characters to the dry rules enunciated in the Smṛtis.

As regards kinship terminology, all the terms used in the Vedic literature are found in the Mahabharata where their use is more explicit. As in the former literature, the terms cover three generations and relations belonging to one's family of birth and to one's family by marriage. A few more terms are added. These are: *mātr-svasā* = sister of the mother; *pitṛ-svasā* = sister of the father; and *mātula* = brother of the mother. A new word, *bhaginī* for sister, is used and becomes very common later. There is a word *pitṛvya*²⁹ meaning father's brother, but it is used very rarely. In the Mahabharata, which relates the story of a fight for patrimony between the sons of two brothers, the sons have addressed one another's uncles (father's brothers) again and again by the terms used for father. There is room to think that the word *pitṛvya* in

the sense of father's brother is a late interpolation in the body of the text.

In the Mahabharata, the words *pitāmaha* (grandfather), *pitṛ* and *tāta* (father), *mātr* and *ambā* (mother), *bhrātṛ* (brother), *svasā* (sister), *sūnu* and *putra* (son), *duhitṛ* (daughter), etc. and the words used for affinal relations except *patnī*, *jāyā* and *bhāryā* (wife), are all used in a classificatory sense for a wide range of relatives, but they *never transgress the principle of arrangement in generations*. Thus all brothers of the father, as also the sons of the father's uncle, were called *pitṛ* (father). The wives of the father and of all those who were called "father" were called *mātr* or *ambā* (mother). In the same way father's father's father and father's uncles were all called *pitāmaha*. All own brothers, both full and half, as also all the male children of "father's brothers", were called brothers. The term for sister was applied to one's own sisters and also to the daughters of all "father's brothers". *Sūnu* or *putra* was one's own son, the brother's son, or the son of the "father's brother's" son. *Duhitṛ* or *kanyā* was used in the same way. This usage is very explicit. In the Mahabharata story there are occasions when one feels that the use of words distinguishing the father from the uncles, the mother from the aunt, or the son from the nephew would have expressed a sentiment or situation in a much better way; but such words were non-existent. The piquancy of the situation is felt the more keenly by a modern reader who has these different terms in the modern Indian languages he speaks.

The terms for affinal relations were also used in the same way. All those who could be called father by one's husband or wife were called *śvaśura* etc. Father's sister's son or daughter, mother's sister's son or daughter and mother's brother's son or daughter were referred to by descriptive terms giving the exact relationship. It must be remembered that father's "sister", mother's "brother" and "sister" could be the parents' own siblings or classificatory siblings.

This shows that the classificatory use of terms was meant for the members of one patri-family: the fathers, brothers, sisters, grandfathers, and mothers. Similarly the terms for the members of the family by marriage applied to the patri-family of the husband or the wife and for no others. The husband's matri-family was given due respect, but the terms used were of different kinds.

The terms *ārya* and *āryā* in the Mahabharata need special mention. They were used as terms of address and of reference by a

woman for her father-in-law and mother-in-law respectively. They were also used by a man for his father-in-law and mother-in-law. This usage confirms what has been said above about the use of these terms in the Vedic period.

It was inferred from the Vedic data that there was a bias towards holding patrimony in the undivided possession of the eldest son, that the eldest son alone "married", performed the family ritual, inherited property and, at given times, made ritual offerings to the dead ancestors. It was also surmised that because of these duties and rights of the eldest son, the marriage of the younger son before that of the eldest constituted a "sin", and that the younger brothers had sexual rights over the wife of the elder brother and had to marry her in case she became a widow.

Some of these inferences receive support from the Mahabharata data. In the Mahabharata it is shown unmistakably that succession to kingship and inheritance of the ancestral kingdom were always the privileges of the eldest son. The Mahabharata dispute arose because the line of succession became blurred in the history of those kings.³⁰ Dhṛtarashtra, Pandu and Vidura were the three persons who could succeed king Vichitravirya. Dhṛtarashtra was the eldest and should have succeeded in the normal course, but he was born blind and so was set aside. The second son, Pandu, had a handicap inasmuch as he was "white" (leucoderma?). He was also impotent, but apparently could fight. The third son, Vidura, was born of a slave (*dāsī-putra*) and so could not be made king. Eventually Pandu was crowned king. Thus far the narrative is clear. We are told that Pandu fought great battles, gave everything to his eldest brother and retired to the Himalayan forests with his two wives. Dhṛtarashtra, who was never crowned king, remained in the capital and had many (a hundred) sons. Pandu also had sons by his wives who had intercourse with gods. When Pandu died his elder wife and five sons came to the capital and were educated and brought up as princes. We are told that the eldest son (Dharma) of Pandu was older than the eldest son (Duryodhana) of Dhṛtarashtra. The question arose as to who should become king. At one place Gandhari, the mother of Duryodhana, tells him that though he was the eldest son of the eldest son of the previous king, he could not claim the kingdom because it had already passed into the hands of a younger son (Pandu) before he (Duryodhana) was born, and so it must continue in that "line". She referred to an elder brother of her father-in-law, who did not inherit the ancestral kingdom because he had inherited his mother's

father's kingdom, which lay in a distant land. She said to her son, "If your claim is upheld, then that brother of my father-in-law and his progeny may as well come as claimants to the kingdom. When a kingdom passes from one 'line' to another, it remains there."

This interpretation makes it very clear that the eldest son had certain rights. Another point made out in this argument is that once a man was set aside, the whole succession passed out of his line. Succession and inheritance did not constitute a pool open to all members of the joint family, but went in a linear manner from the father to the eldest son. All other males were subordinate to the successor. The genealogy narrated in the first part (Adiparvan) of the Mahabharata makes this very clear. Mention has been made at two or three places of the eldest or the older sons being disinherited, but every time some explanation has been given for this extraordinary procedure.

The same epic contains a long story in Adiparvan about the brothers who perished because they divided the patrimony. The very emphasis on non-division makes one feel that the practice of division of property among sons was already coming into vogue. We might say that up to the Mahabharata times the rule of inheritance was that the eldest son (and after him, his eldest son) inherited and also succeeded to headship of the family. The younger sons had the right of maintenance and the duty of obedience to the eldest brother. If for any reason the eldest son could not succeed, his place was taken by the next younger son, *in whose direct line* seniority continued unless he was definitely named as merely a representative for the time being, until the son of the eldest came of age. Sometimes the eldest son, whose claim was set aside, could take up the temporary role of the head of the family. In the epic Ramayana we have a situation in which the eldest, Rama, was set aside for some time and his younger brother, Bharata, held the kingdom in trust during the absence of his elder brother. In the Mahabharata Bhishma, the eldest prince, had taken a vow of celibacy and non-succession. There was a time when he was the sole surviving heir and at other times the heirs were minors. He refused to take over the kingdom and chose to remain a trustee.

In the Mahabharata, the word *devr* was used for any brother of the husband (younger or older) and it seems that it was customary for a widow to procreate children through any *devr*. When the wives of king Vichitravirya were widowed and the kingdom was left without an heir, the mother-in-law commanded her daughter-

in-law to beget sons through the *devr*. In the original, this term is used without mentioning any individual. King Vichitravirya had one half-brother, Bhishma, and many cousins. We are told that the eldest widow first thought of Bhishma, but of stuck to his vow of celibacy, any one of the other Kuru-princes at the court could come to her. This shows that the word *devr* was like other kinship terms, used in a classificatory sense for any male of the husband's generation from the husband's patri-clan.³¹

The evidence, however, is conflicting. When princess Draupadi was won by a feat of arms of Arjuna, the third brother among the Pandavas, she was made to marry ritually one brother after another, starting from the eldest down, on the plea that (a) a younger brother could not marry before his elder brother, and (b) the elder's wife could be married to the younger but not *vice versa*.

On one occasion it was pointed out by a warrior that it was fruitless to try to sow seeds of quarrel among the Pandava brothers who had a wife in common (i.e. a chief wife, because each had other individual wives too). Though uncommon, this incident was not referred to as something unseemly. Another practice, that of ordering the wife to bear children through a stranger, was also common. This was preferred to having an adopted son (*dattaka*). The analogy used in such cases was that of "the seed and the field" (*bīja-kṣetra*). In fact the expression used for the queen of Vichitravirya, while narrating the incident quoted above, is "in the field of Vichitravirya he begot progeny" (*kṣetre Vicitraviryasya*). The wife is likened to a field owned by a farmer. The farmer has the right to sow his field. Also, anything growing in the field, even if the seed is planted by another, is his. In the case of the wife, the most likely person for such use was the husband's brother in the case of a widow, or any stranger, including gods, in the case of a non-widow. The stipulation of widowhood seems to be necessary if each "brother" had his own wife. The children of the widow were the children, i.e. "sons", of the dead man and became his heirs and *not* the heirs of the man who was the progenitor. The rights of the progenitor's own son, older or younger, thus remained intact.

The epics provide data mostly about ruling kings and their sons, though there are references to Brahmins also, which we shall discuss later. The family organization was strictly patrilineal, patrilocal and joint. A woman who came into the family remained in the family till her death. There were very few and exceptional occasions when a married woman was sent back to her patrikin.

One such occasion was when the sons of Pandu went into a long exile of thirteen years. They sent Subhadra, the wife of Arjuna, with her son and the sons of Draupadi, the crowned queen and Subhadra's co-wife, to live at the court of Subhadra's father's kin. Apparently, some of the wives of the Pandavas remained at Hastinapur, the ancestral capital. The children could and did occasionally visit the kingdoms of their mothers.³²

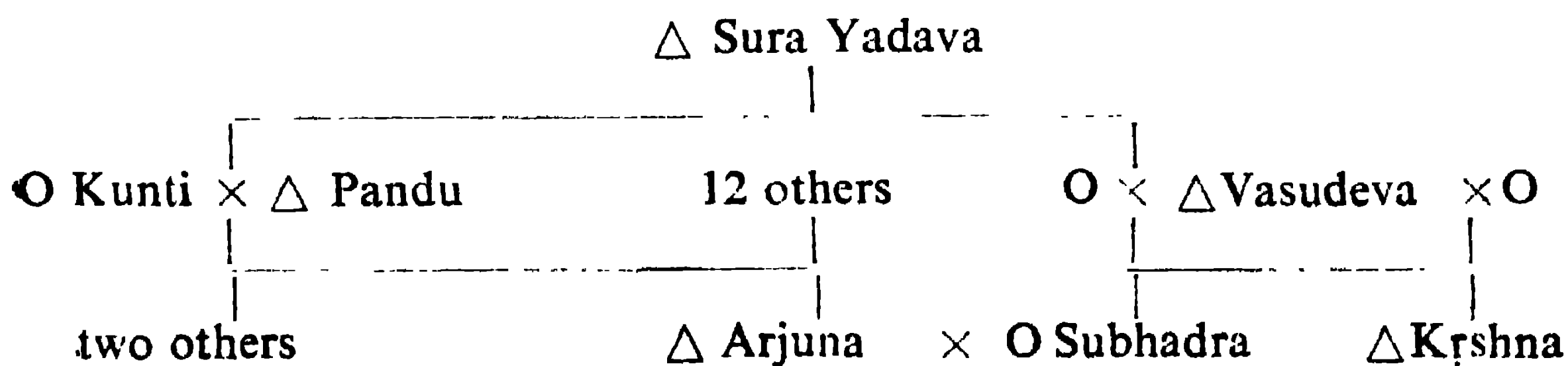
Each patri-family was known by the *location* as also by a patronymic. The latter did not serve always as a guide to the identity of the family as the *location*. A man might take on the name of his father or of any one of his ancestors. Duryodhana was called Dhārtarāṣṭra (the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra), Kaurava (a descendant of the great king Kuru) and also Bhārata (a descendant of Bharata). Of these three names, Kaurava was used most often, because it designated the Kuru country of which this family was the hereditary ruler.

If one considers all the recorded marriages, the fact emerges that all the brides were princesses of kingdoms different from those of their husbands. Most of these princesses were known by the names of their fathers' kingdoms. Very rarely is the own name of the princess or the queen mentioned. The wife of Dhṛtarashtra was Gāndhārī (the princess of Gāndhāra). The wives of Pandu were Kuntī (the princess of Kuntibhoj) and Mādri (the princess of Madra). The wife and queen of the Pandavas was Panchālī (the princess of Panchāla. The wives of king Dasharatha: Kausālyā (the princess of Kosala) and Kaikeyī (the princess of Kekeya). Sometimes the names of the women were given with patronymics as also the land of the father. Sita was the name of Rama's wife. She was also called Jānakī (daughter of the house of Janaka)³³ and Vaidehī (a princess of the land Videha). In the same way, Damayantī, the wife of Nala, was also called Bhaimī (daughter of king Bhima) and Vaidarbhī (a princess of the land of Vidarbha).³⁴ Some women were known only by their own names. They were commoners, slaves or non-princesses. Satyavati was the name of king Shantanu's wife. She was the daughter of a chief of fishermen and boatmen. Ganga was also one of his queens. She was a semi-divine being. Urvashi, the queen of king Pururavas, was a divine nymph. Shakuntala, the wife of king Dushyanta, was also not a princess. Sumitra, one of the three wives of king Dasharatha (from the epic Ramayana), was also no princess. She was either a commoner or a slave.

We find from these narratives that all the princesses came from

kingdoms other than those of the grooms. The only exception to this is that of king Dasharatha, the king of Kosala, marrying a woman called Kausalya (a princess of Kosala). This suggests two different possibilities : (a) That he married his "sister", i.e. a woman belonging to his own patri-family. The story in the Buddhist literature about Rama in Dasharatha Jataka seems to take this view. It mentions that Dasharatha married his "sister". (b) That there were two kingdoms of Kosala, a southern kingdom allied to the kingdom of Kashi and a northern one whose capital was Ayodhya.³⁵ We have seen that the terms "brother" and "sister" were also used for the distant paternal relations of one's own generation. In the Mahabharata and Ramayana there is no mention of marriages between actual brothers and sisters or even of near patri-cousins.

There are not many instances in the epics of marriage of near relatives, related through the mother or father's sister. In the Mahabharata, some of the recorded marriages appear to be those of a man to his mother's own brother's daughter. A princess is mostly mentioned by her father's kingdom.³⁶ In the cases recorded, a father, and after him his son or grandson, was reported to have married a princess from the same house. The actual relationship is not mentioned and cannot be ascertained for lack of complete genealogies. The genealogy is known only of one such marriage, that of Arjuna and Subhadra. The genealogy is not given in the epic itself but is extracted from later works.³⁷

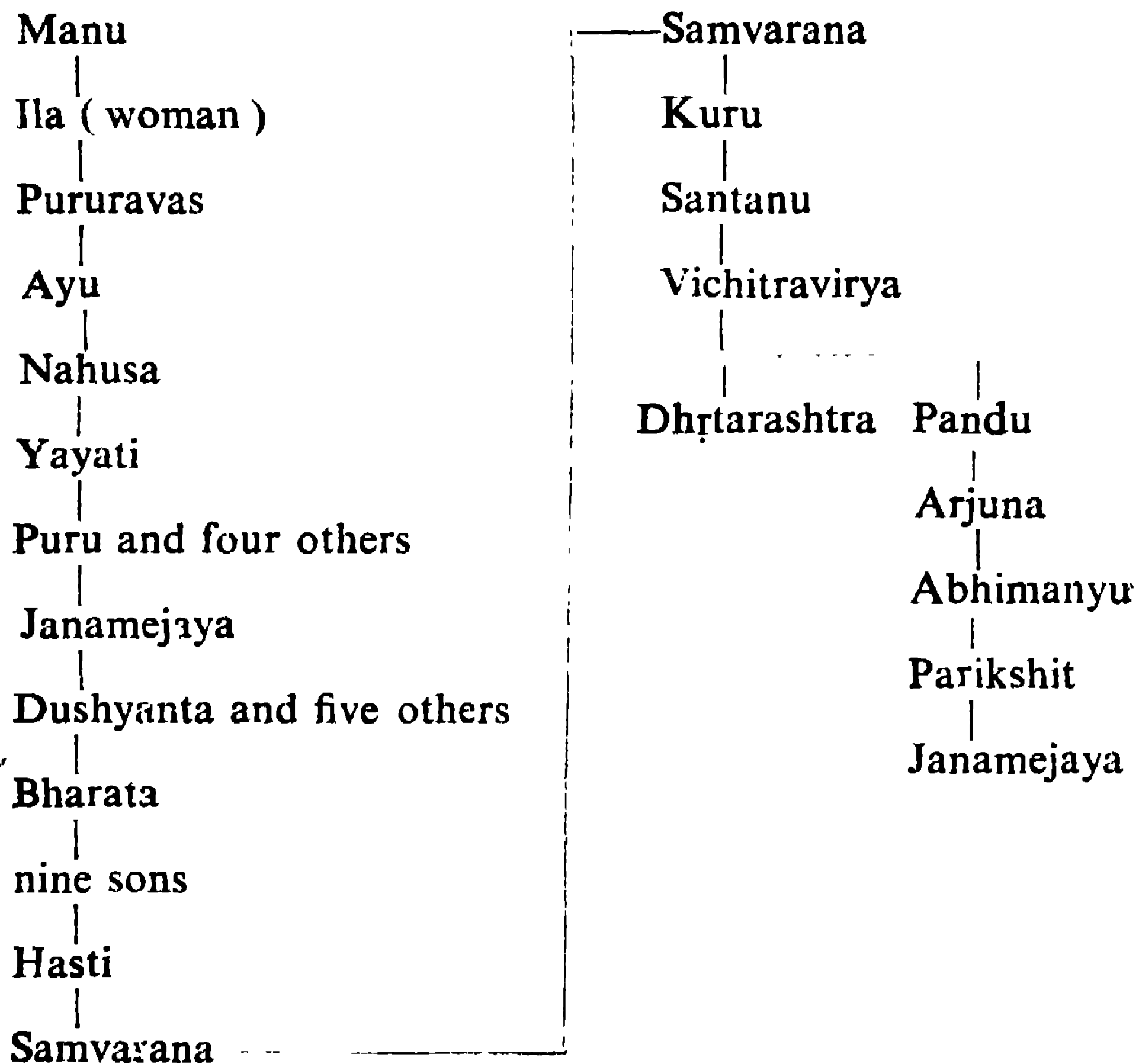


Arjuna married his mother's brother's daughter according to this genealogy. From the epic references and this genealogy recorded with others in the following period, it appears that occasionally such marriages (between a man and his mother's brother's daughter) were allowed in the western parts of the northern Indian plains.

As regards marriages other than those mentioned above, the Vedic practices seem to continue. One of the practices was to get brides from a place outside one's locality. The other was not to

marry a person from the patri-family located at one place. In this connection, it is necessary to be quite clear about the meaning of a patri-family. In order to understand the actual practice well, we must describe what was meant by a family in ancient times. The words *kula*, *vamśa* and *gotra* were used for a family in Sanskrit, a person naming his *kula*, *vamśa* or *gotra* always mentioned his patri-family. The word *gotra* will be considered later, but these words were very loosely used. A man could mention or be known by the name of any of his famous ancestors, and not necessarily always by the name of the man whom he considered as the founder of the family.

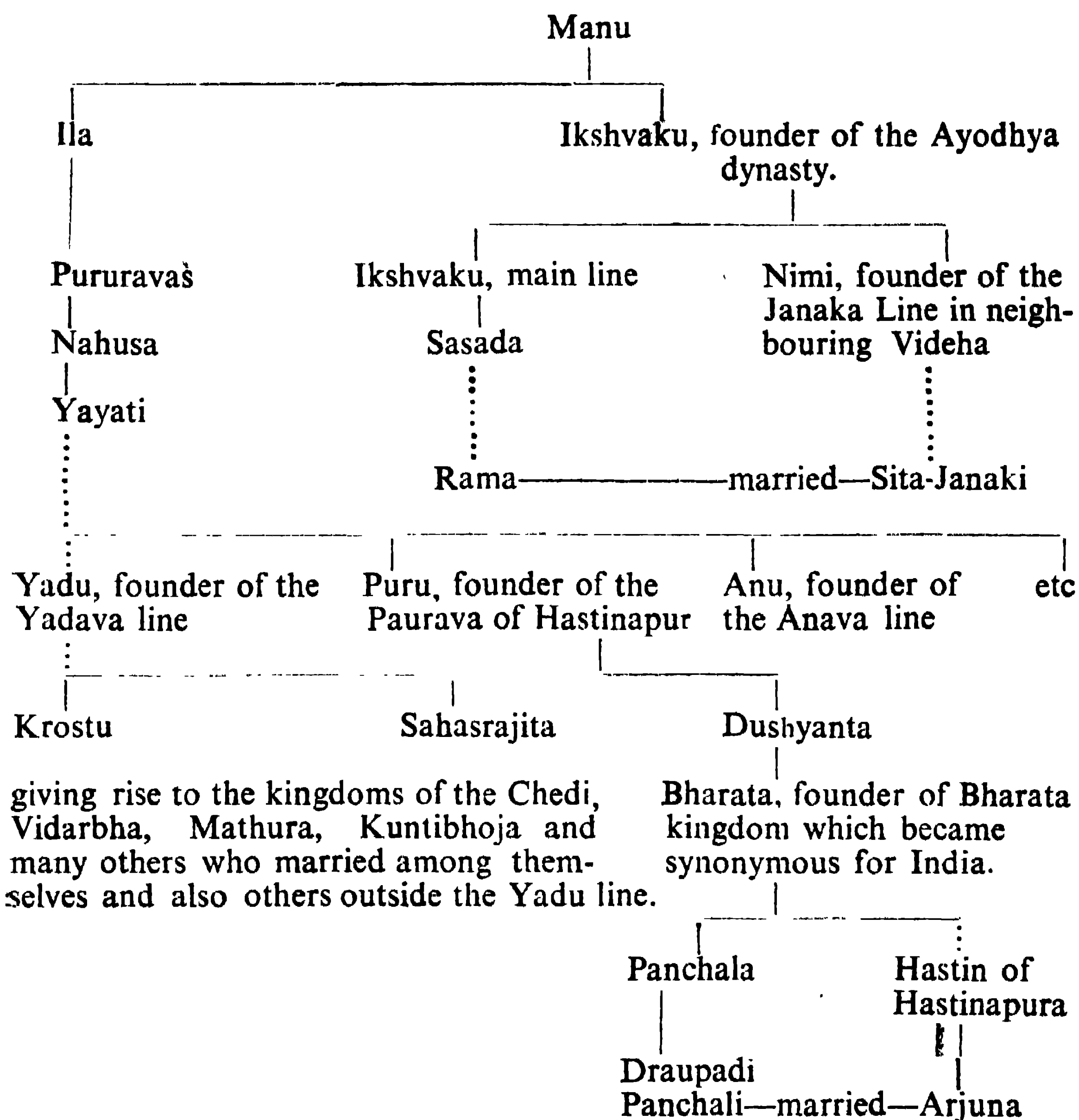
The *vamśa* is an enumeration of the patrilineal descent in a line where collateral branches are ignored. The line of the Pandavas is traced from Manu in the following way :



Many of these kings had sons who founded other kingdoms, but in this genealogy the names of only those who are connected with the kingdom of Hastinapur, the city founded by Hasti, are given. In this genealogy some kings like Puru, Bharata, Samvarana, and Kuru were very famous, and the descendants gladly named them

when telling about their families. The princes who fought in the Mahabharata battle were addressed as Bhārata or Kaurava or Paurava after Bharata, Kuru and Puru. The famous kings who brought glory to the family were called *vamśakara* (makers of a *vamśa*) or *kulakara* (makers of a *kula*).

The descendants of Bharata practised inter-marriage. The descendants of Yadu, a son of Yayati, founded a line or *vamśa* called Yadava and they also married among themselves. In the same way, descendants of the other sons of Manu also married among themselves as the following genealogy will show.



Manu's son Ikshvaku founded the Ayodhya dynasty. His eldest son carried on the main line. His younger son Nimi founded a kingdom in the neighbouring country of Videha, where the kings

were called Janakas. Later on Rama, a prince of the Ikshvaku dynasty, married Sita, a daughter of the Janakas, who also were Ikshvakus. Manu's daughter Ila had a son Pururavas who founded the Hastinapura dynasty. His descendants were the five princes who founded a new house each and a new dynasty called Yadava, Paurava, Anava etc. Yadavas in their turn gave rise to many separate kingdoms and dynasties. Many among them intermarried. They also married into other Kshatriya lines. In the main Puru line was born Bharata who gave his name to his descendants. Bharata's descendants founded three lines — the north Panchala, the south Panchala and the main Hastinapura line. Kuru was a famous king in this line. He gave his name to his descendants who were called Kauravas. The Kauravas were thus Bharatas also, and the Pandavas married a descendant of the Bharatas and Kauravas, the princess Draupadi, who belonged to the north Panchala house and was, therefore, herself a Bharata. In these marriages, of Rama and Sita (Ikshvakus), Kṛṣṇa and Rukmini (Yadavas) and Pandava and Draupadi (Bharatas), the spouses were so far removed from their common ancestor that they could not be called near relations.

When certain kings are called *kulakara* or *vamśakara* the two words *kula* and *vamśa* seem identical, but in other contexts their connotation is different. *Vamśa* seems to be the name given to a successive line of descent from father to son. When a *vamśa* is set forth, names of kings are given one after another in a succession. When several sons of a king are mentioned, only that one who is in direct ancestral line of a given prince is picked out as belonging to the *vamśa*. The word *vamśa* is used also for a bamboo or cane tree which grows straight in nodes. On this analogy the whole line or *vamśa* is like a bamboo tree and each member in it is a node. The connection between the two ideas is well brought out in the Mahabharata in the following account. King Yudhisthira was advised to visit a holy place on the banks of the Narmada where bamboos grew in great abundance. This place was called *vamśamulaka* and a visit to it was supposed to ensure the continuance and prosperity of the line (*vamśa*).

Kula, on the other hand, in its narrower meaning seems to refer to the whole of the patri-family residing at one place. *Kula* is thus the aggregate of kin in a great family. The expression *kula-vṛddha* means the elder males of a great family. *Kula-ghnī* (the destroyer of a *kula*) is used as an adjective to a bride under certain circumstances.

An expression occurs in later Smṛtis, which proscribes “the giving of a girl to a *kula*” (*kule kanyā pradāna*). This is interpreted as giving a girl as a bride to many brothers or cousins i.e. to the *kula* as a whole.

We may differentiate *vamśa* and *kula* and say that *vamśa* is a linear arrangement while *kula* refers to an “aggregate”. This meaning is also brought out in expressions like *pakṣi-kula* — the *kula* of birds, a flock of birds. A *kula* however was never a simple aggregate; it was a kin-group under the leadership of a male. A man would use the words *mātr-vamśa* and *mātrkula* to designate his mother’s line and mother’s family.

From the genealogies given above, it would seem that it was quite customary among the princely houses to marry within the *vamśa* if the families (*kula*) resided in different places and if the kinship was distant. There were a few cases of a man marrying his mother’s brother’s daughter, but they seem to be confined to houses from the north-west and the west and to the south-western kingdoms along the Narmada river. The epic lists show that the husband and wife never (except in the case of Dasharatha, as mentioned above) have the same *kula* names.³⁸ That there could be marriage between persons who had the same distant male ancestor is also seen.

Neither the *vamśa* nor the *kula* possesses the characteristics of a clan, *Vamśa* is a line of patrilineal descent. *Kula* is patri-kin based on locality. If a junior branch in a *kula* wandered away, established itself elsewhere and changed its name, marriage between it and the original *kula* could take place. The name of a clan is fixed. The *vamśa* and *kula* names on the other hand had no fixity. They were patronymics derived from the names of some famous ancestors and when a new hero arose he gave his own name to his descendants. A man could use the name of his father as his patronymic. The five brothers in the Mahabharata are referred to as Pandava (sons of Pandu) far oftener than as Kaurava.

The *kula* may be called a phratry, a *gebrüderschaft*, which remained an exogamous unit as long as it was based on one locality. This dependence on locality was due to the custom of changing the name of a *kula* either through change in locality or through choosing any one of the different ancestors as *kulakara*.

The patri-family was not equated to a patri-clan until a little later. In the northern tradition, this change occurred during the epic period and, in the case of Brahmins, with their *gotra* system,

in the period immediately following it. This *gotra* system, which belonged originally to Brahmins, has remained predominantly a Brahmin system and does not seem to have affected many northern castes.³⁹

The question of *gotra* leads us directly into the period following the epics and gradually right into the mediaeval period of India. The question of inheritance and succession in the epic period has already been dealt with.⁴⁰ Before considering *gotra*, it is necessary to deal with a concept which has played an important role in connection with the marriage regulation, death ritual and inheritance. This is the concept of *sapinda* (*sa* = together; *pin̄da* = a ball of rice; a body). A ritual had been known since the Vedic times, by which a man solemnly offered balls of cooked rice to his dead ancestors on the full moon and new moon days. This ball of rice was known as *pin̄da*. *Pin̄da*⁴¹ also meant any lumped thing — a bit of flesh for example. The term *sapinda* occurs in the *Smṛtis* and in all the commentaries on them. It meant (1) all those who had the right to offer *pin̄da* (the rice ball) to a man, or (2) all those who shared the same body (according to Mitakshara, see Chap. VIII).

According to a second meaning, a person was *sapinda* of his father and mother and, through them, a *sapinda* of their *sapinda*. In the patrilineal family we have described, a wife was not *sapinda* of her husband, father-in-law etc. She did not have the right to offer *pin̄da* to any one in her husband's family. She had no right to inheritance.

The position of a girl born in the family was such that she was valued as a material for marriage or exchange, and occasionally for lending. If a man had only daughters, he could have the son-in-law staying with him and could adopt one of his daughter's sons. The type of adoption would have been possible only if a man lived alone, in a single, non-joint family. In a joint family such an adoption would be resented by the collaterals. That an adoption is possible, however, has been known from the earliest times and mentioned by all commentators.

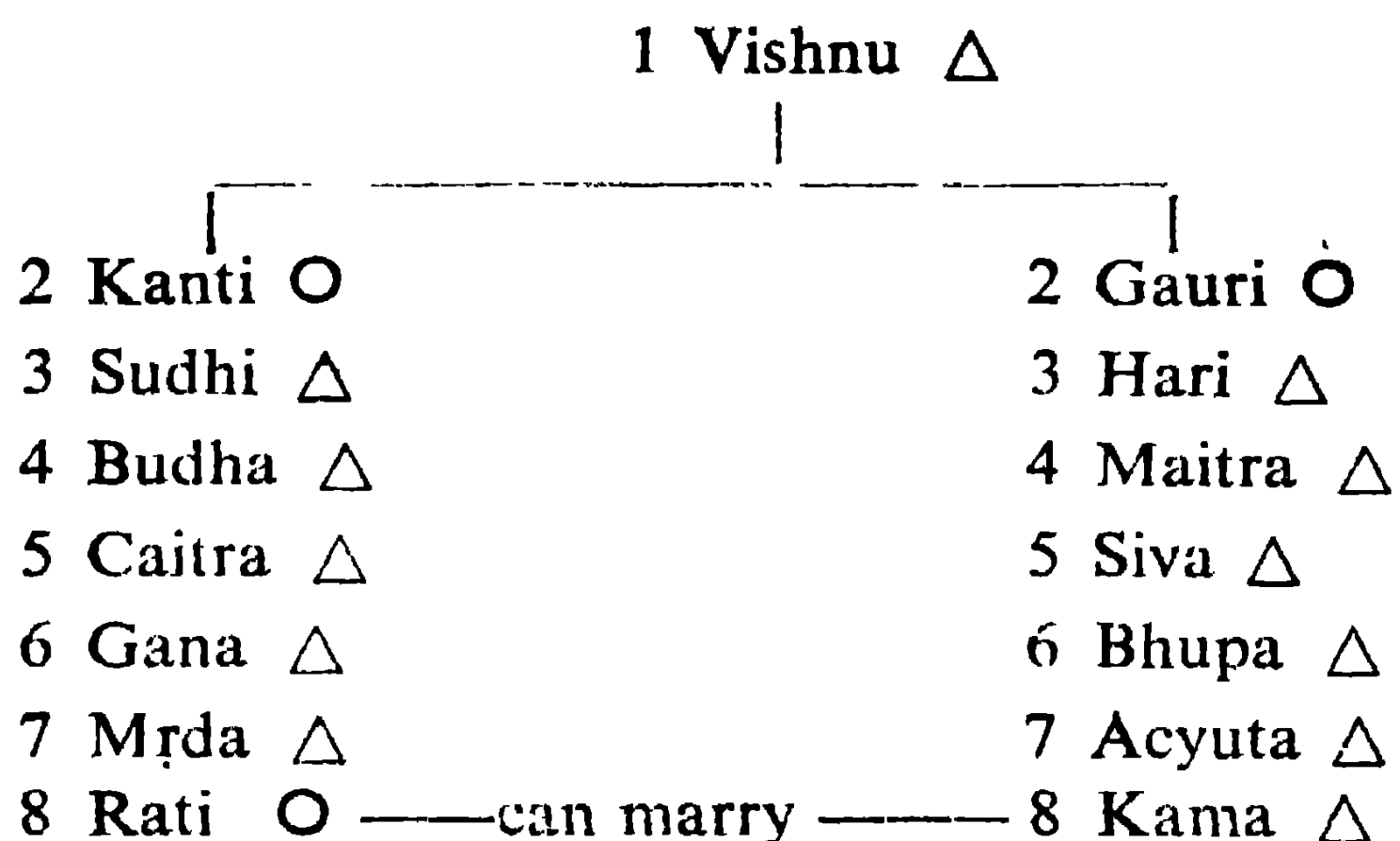
We are concerned here with the concept of *sapinda* (*sāpin̄dya* — an abstract noun) as an exogamous unit. A man was barred from marrying a woman who was his *sapinda*. This was the primary rule of marriage and, as we have seen, it might mean two things. In the sense of *pin̄da* meaning a rice ball (a) the taboo extended primarily to some generations of relatives through a male ancestor,

or (b) to all near or known relatives through the father and mother.

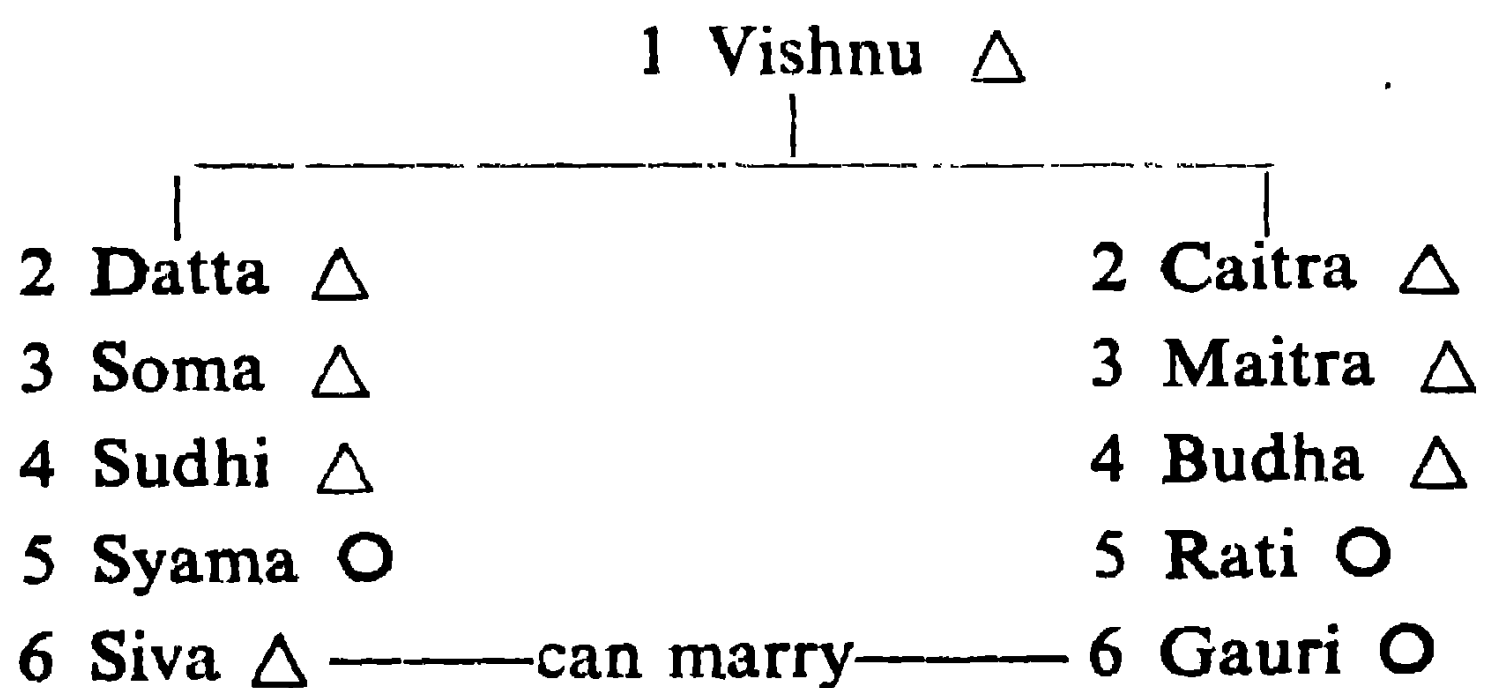
The epic data show that the first rule was applied to the patri-family in one locality, the locality itself becoming a kind of symbol for *sāpinḍya*. As regards the second rule, it seems to have been in practice, but not as rigidly as the first.

According to the mediaeval commentaries, the rule of *sapinḍa* is that a man must not marry anybody who may have a common male ancestor in the direct *male* line up to the seventh ascending generation or who may have a common ancestor up to the fifth generation in the mother's line.

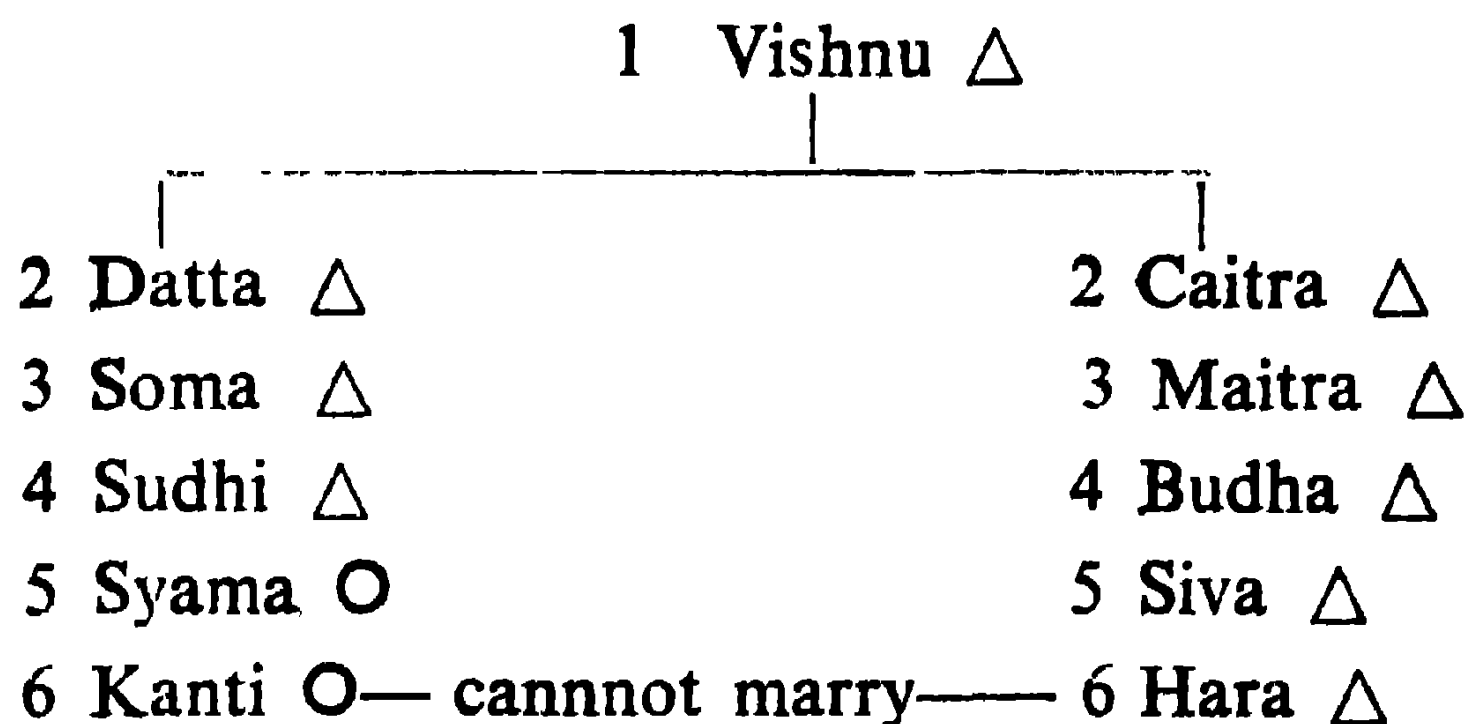
For marriage, the two people are supposed to be not *sapinḍa*, even if they have a common eighth ancestor in the father's line or a common sixth ancestor in the mother's line. The following illustrations from a late commentary will make clear the method of counting the generations.⁴² In all the genealogies given below the man Vishnu is the original founder of the families.



The girl Rati and boy Kama can marry because counting in their father's (Mr̥da and Acyuta) lines they are the eighth from the common ancestor Vishnu.



Siva and Gauri can marry because though they are sixth from the common ancestor, it is through their mothers Syama and Rati that this connection is there and *sāpiṇḍya* (consanguinity) ceases when removed by five degrees in the mother's line.



The girl Kanti has the mother Syama and through her she is the sixth from the common ancestor of herself and Hara; but Hara, in whose case the ascent is traced through the father Siva, is only the sixth, whereas he should have been the eighth for the removal of the bar for marriage, and so Kanti and Hara cannot marry.

There are quite lengthy discussions and some curious cases where the *sāpiṇḍya* bar is removed according to the particular rule in a generation and is re-established among the immediate descendants. Further particulars about all these curious cases can be found in the book referred to above. However, the examples given above will suffice to show how consanguinity or *sāpiṇḍya* was generally reckoned by the Brahmin priests at least in mediaeval times.

The rigidity of the *sapiṇḍa* rule for the father's or the mother's line vary in different regions, at different times and for different castes, but as we shall see, it may be taken as the "type" rule for the northern region.

One direction in which it became rigid was where it excluded the "whole" of the real or imagined patri-family, making it function almost parallel to that of a patri-clan. This happened very early in the case of Brahmins. A careful reading of the early literature shows that the Brahmins, including the most famous among them, were known by their own names, or by the names derived from those of their ancestors but *not* the localities. Gargi came from the patri-family of a man named Garga. A number of men were known as Bhargava or Vasishtha. About half a dozen individual Bhargavas and Vasisthas are known to legend because of their individual learning or prowess or because of their connection with some royal family. Though some Kshatriya princes were known

as singers of the sacred hymns or as learned and wise men, the main body of Vedic verses is supposed to have been composed by Brahmins. The Brahmins were also skilled in performing sacrifices needing great accuracy and were in possession of magic incantations. They hawked their knowledge from one king to another and flocked to wherever great sacrifices were being performed or moneys distributed. As mediaeval inscriptions show, grant of land induced them to go to distant places. They needed to keep their knowledge sacred, magical and esoteric. As they were mostly on the move, the family identity had to be kept for the sake of this knowledge as also for the sake of the rules of marriage. A Brahmin was known by his own name, by the *gotra* to which he belonged, and also through *pravara*.⁴³

The word *gotra* means "a cattle enclosure" and possibly represented a complex of houses or a house and cattle-shed belonging to a patri-family. A *gotra* was known by the name of the male head. Occasionally, a *gotra* was the name of a rather well-known immediate ancestor. *Pravara* was something like the *kulakara* or *vamśakara* in Kshatriya genealogies. *Pravara* means "the great one" in the singular, "the great ones" in the plural. On certain occasions a Brahmin had to declare his *gotra* and *pravara*. A Brahmin who could not do so was not supposed to be a proper Brahmin.⁴⁴

Just as the Kshatriyas named certain very famous warriors as *kulakara* kings or *vamśakara* kings and were proud of using their names as patronymics, the Brahmins also seem to have followed the custom of naming certain famous ancestors when performing sacrifices or when the need arose to declare the *gotra*. These ancestors were called *pravara*.⁴⁵ The term means "excellent ones." These *pravaras* were, in a majority of cases, more than one and a man could name one, two, three or five *pravaras*, but not four. Some of the *pravaras* seem to have been mentioned in the early texts, and apparently known to the grammarian Panini who is supposed to have lived in the 7th century B.C. The Brahmins had *gotras* as family names and each *gotra* claimed to have certain famous ancestors called *pravaras*. *Gotra* probably did not mean more than a patronymic used as a family name.

Some centuries before the Christian era the whole of the Brahmin *gotras* and *pravaras* were organized into a system of exogamous clans. The man who did this was called Baudhayana, and the tradition has it that he was a southerner. Whether any attempt was made before this at systematizing the *gotra* and *pravaras* is

not known now. Baudhayana, for the first time, gave a rigid definition to the word *gotra* and the technical meaning given by him is used in all the Brahmanic texts about the *gotra*. He says that a *gotra* is the whole group of persons descended from any one of the "seven sages" or Agastya. The seven sages are Jamadagni, Gautama, Bharadvaja, Atri, Vishvamitra, Kashyapa and Vasishtha. Thus according to Baudhayana there are only eight *gotras* and people belonging to the same *gotra* cannot marry.

We thus find that Baudhayana has given a new meaning to the word *gotra*. Prof. Brough thinks that the meaning of Baudhayana was the older meaning of word and that in course of time the word *gotra* came to be applied to great families or even to mere patronymics. I think, however, that the evidence does not warrant this conclusion. On the other hand, the word *gotra* was used in the same way as *kula* in various allied connotations and Baudhayana fixed its meaning by a definition. This is evident from the introductory remarks of Baudhayana where he says, "of the *gotras* there are thousands, millions and tens of millions, but the *pravaras* — of these are forty-nine"

When Baudhayana himself makes this admission, it is clear that the word *gotra* was used for a *vamśa* or *kula* or even a smaller unit as I have tried to show. It may be noted that epigraphical evidence as also present practice show that the word *gotra* was being still used among Brahmins for smaller sub-divisions of the groups named as *gotra* by Baudhayana.

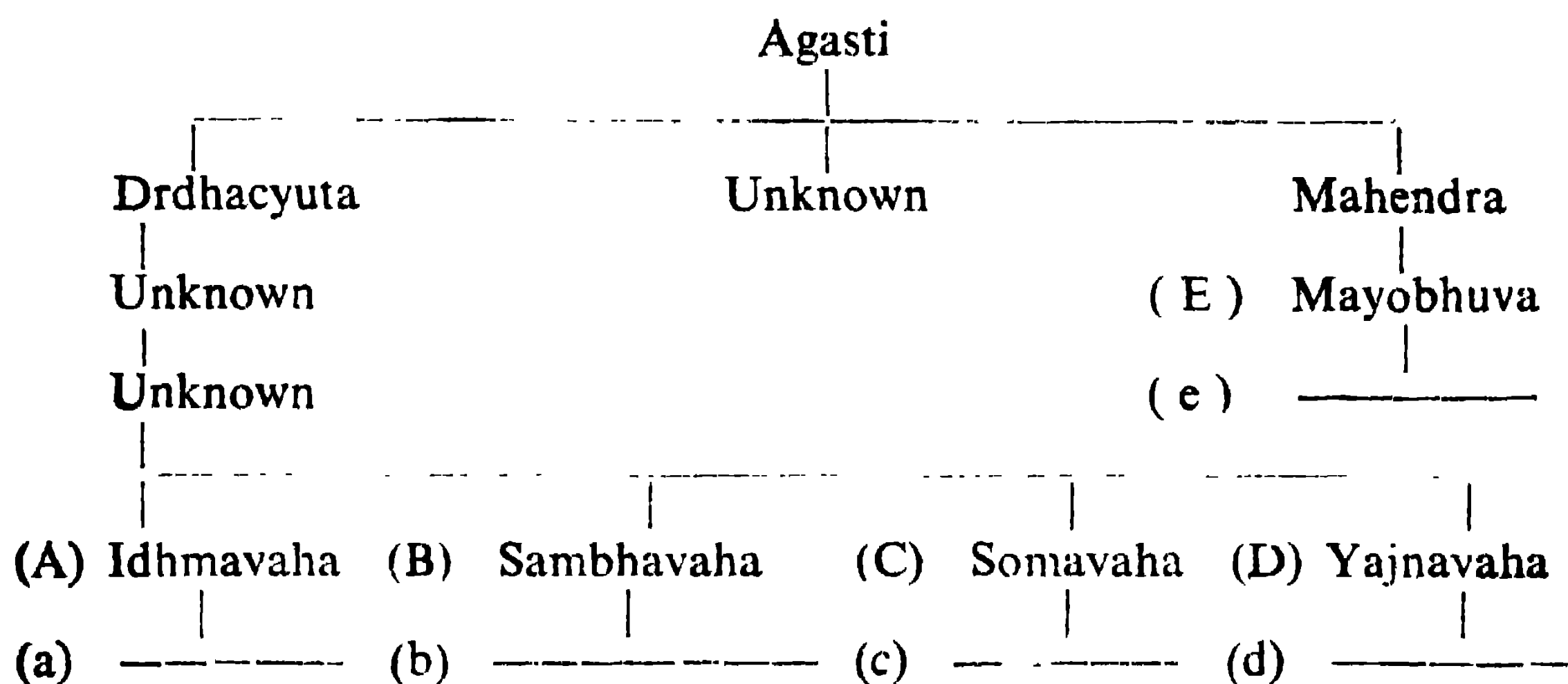
The following is the scheme as described by Baudhayana. The *gotra* as we have seen are eight. Each of these consists of several divisions and subdivisions. The divisions are called *gaṇa*. Baudhayana gives the *pravaras* for each of the divisions called *gaṇa*. He further says that those who have even one *pravara* in common should be held to belong to one *gotra*, except in the case of the *Bhṛgu-gaṇa* and *Angira-gaṇa*.

The *gotra*, *gaṇa* and *pravara* scheme can be best understood by an illustration. Below are given the *gaṇa* and *pravara* of the Agastya *gotra* according to Baudhayana and other writers.

Agastya Gotra					
<i>Gaṇa</i>			<i>Pravara</i>		
1.	Idhmavaha	..	(1) Agastya	(2)	Dardhacyuta
			(3) Aidhmavaha		
2.	Sambhavaha	..	(1) Agastya	(2)	Dardhacyuta
			(3) Sambhavaha		

<i>Gaṇa</i>			<i>Pravara</i>
3. Somavaha	..	(1) Agastya (3) Śaumavaha	(2) Dardhacyuta
4. Yajnavaha	..	(1) Agastya (3) Yajnavaha	(2) Dardhacyuta
5. Agasti etc.	..	(1) Agastya (3) Mayobhuva	(2) Mahendra

All the *gaṇas* have one *pravara* (Agastya) in common and so they cannot marry. The same type of *gaṇa* and *pravara* arrangement is found among the *gotras*: Vasishtha, Vishvamitra, Kashyapa and Atri. If one were to fit the scheme of *gotra* and *pravara* in a genealogical representation, it would be somewhat as follows :



In the above scheme, a, b, c, d and e are sub-divisions of *gaṇa* A, B, C, D and E, and are the descendants of the *gaṇa*. When these descendants pronounced their *gotra* they would recite the names of their ancestors. a, b, c and d have each two common ancestors—Agasti and Drdhacyuta, while e has only one ancestor common with the others, viz. Agasti. These are the *pravaras*. In this scheme, inasmuch as all the people have the *gotra*-name Agastya, the reference to *pravara* for the establishment of the sameness of a *gotra* seems to be superfluous. Some anthropologists have even argued that *pravaras* are a later addition to the *gotra* system. This is however not the case. We can take it that in pre-Baudhayana days *gotra* was the name applied to what he calls *gaṇa* and even smaller divisions than *gaṇa*. In that case a recital of the *pravara* would be absolutely necessary for establishing common descent. The common *pravara* Agastya, includ-

daughters and say to them, 'I wish that the husbands are agreeable to them and they to their husbands'. The beautiful, fragrant, well dressed concubines of ours you should also greet.

"Greet the slave women and their children, greet the aged, the maimed, the helpless and tell them that king Dharma will protect and feed them well." To his own mother he sends a special message through Krishna.

The Pandava prince first greeted with great humility the Brahmins, the priests and his teachers. They were not his kin but they were all dependents of the Kuru family to which he belonged. He hoped to gain their allegiance by showing them the respect which Duryodhana many times failed to show. He also sent a formal greeting to the assembled kings to show that he bore no ill-will to them.

Then he greeted those whom on various occasions he had addressed as fathers, brothers, etc. and whom he considers as such. The mode of greeting for each category is different.

Bhishma was the eldest male, the grandfather (the uncle of the father) and the greeting spoke of holding his feet and of putting the head on his feet. The same mode of greeting was employed for his uncles Dhṛtarashtra and Vidura and the great-uncle Balhika and his son. He called them "father". He called the sons of all these his "brothers". Amongst the brothers he embraces those towards whom he bears love and gives just a verbal greeting to those who are his rivals. Among the brothers, he sent a special loving greeting to Dhṛtarashtra's son Yuyutsu, born of a concubine. To the elderly ladies, the wives and widows of those whom he had termed fathers and grandfathers, he sent greetings by a low bow. No greeting was sent to the wives of Dhṛtarashtra's sons, i.e. his cousins, but he sent a greeting to those who were his and his own brothers' wives and admonished them to be virtuous and loyal.

Then he sent blessings to the brothers' sons and grandsons (and his own sons and grandsons — the progeny of those wives who had remained at the Kuru court). The wives of all these he called daughters-in-law and he greeted them. He embraced those whom he called the "daughters" i.e. his "brothers' daughters". Lastly, he greeted the slaves and their progeny and the aged and maimed dependents. It should also be noted that his own mother Kunti lived at the Kuru-court during the time he himself and his brothers were in exile.

The picture of the family as given here is patrilineal and patri-

local. It was also a great joint family made up of brothers, their sons and sons' sons, together with their wives and unmarried daughters. In the passage given above a greeting is sent to daughters who had come with their husbands on invitation for the war. It is thus a very special occasion. Otherwise all the other incidents in the epic show that only the unmarried girls and unprotected wives lived in their fathers' houses.

People of four generations (sometimes more) lived in the same locality. Bhishma and Balhika were grand-uncles (grandfathers) of the fighting cousins; Dhṛtarashtra and Vidura were the fathers; the quarrelling princes were cousins and all called each other "brothers" and there lived also sons and sons' sons. It is not certain which of these lived under one roof and shared food cooked at one hearth. It appears as if Bhishma and Vidura had separate houses and Kunti lived at Vidura's house. Of the others, Balhika and his family had probably separate dwellings or, as they had an independent kingdom of their own, they had come only as allies in the war. From certain references it appears as if Duryodhana, his brothers and counsellors lived apart from the household of the aged king Dhṛtarashtra. In the Pandava camp also the young princes had establishments separate from the fathers. Perhaps the food, furniture and clothing was issued from the central household of the king.

In all the Sanskrit literature a similar picture of the joint family is always given. Parents, sons and sons' sons always lived together. In the case of ruling houses, there were possibly separate establishments for the important members. Most probably the family used to split when it became too big to be accommodated in one house and new houses were built so that in one and the same locality there were several houses belonging to the male progeny of one common ancestor.

Though kinship terms for grandfather and grandsons are found from the oldest times, there was a tendency to lump together all people of the older generation as "fathers." The distinction between sons and grandsons was made, but their wives were called daughters-in-law (*snuṣā*). The distinction between the three generations was fundamental and was reflected in the behaviour pattern of each generation to the other two. The mode of greeting the "fathers" was "*vandana*", i.e. bowing down to the feet, or putting one's head on the feet of the elders. Those of the same generation would be greeted by holding the hands, or a formal embrace and the younger generation would be "blessed" by the elders

when they bowed to their feet, or the head of the son would be sniffed. The group into which a person married was the group of one's contemporaries. This rule is not mentioned explicitly in the Smṛtis, but in a very late compilation it is said that the groom and bride must not be connected to each other by a "contrary" status-connection.⁴⁹ The contrary status is explained as a situation in which the bride could be equated to the groom's mother, or the groom to the bride's father. This is still further elucidated by concrete instances such as (i) the marriage of a man to his mother's co-wife's sister or cousin (in this case the bride would be in the position of a mother to the groom); or (ii) the marriage of a girl with the brother of her aunt's husband (the aunt is like a mother, her husband is like a father and a father's brother is also like a father). That this rule of behaviour was followed in the epic is made clear by one incident. Arjuna in the disguise of a dancing master taught music and dancing to the princess Uttara of Virata. Later, king Virata offered her to him as wife. He, however, declined, saying that being her teacher he was to her as a father and she should therefore be given to him as his daughter-in-law, i.e. as a bride for his son. This convention meant that ordinarily a person married somebody who was of his own generation and ensured that men of different generations were not rivals for the hand of one woman.

In a household in which ordinarily many men belonging sometimes to three or four generations lived, it was necessary by evolving rigid rules of behaviour and status to avoid clash and rivalry between generations. We have already noted above the devices by which the rivalry of the generations was avoided in the field of sexual behaviour. Another remarkable social institution which indirectly helped to strengthen the code of social behaviour is generally referred to in Indian books as the institution of *āśrama*. The literal meaning of *āśrama* is "a house or a resting place". However, in this context it means a condition of life. A man is supposed to go through four such *āśramas* in life. The *āśramas* correspond to the "age-grades" or "classes" of certain societies. From the time a man is born upto about his eighth year he belongs to no *āśrama*. During this period he is treated with great indulgence by the family, and, it is said that a child so young cannot commit a crime for which it can be held responsible. At the end of this period he undergoes a ceremony and enters what is called the first *āśrama* which is the celibate state. This is like an initiation leading into puberty. At this stage the boy is kept under the care

of one or more teachers, learns the sacred lore, practical sciences and fine arts or the use of weapons etc. He must desist from all kinds of luxuries like sweet food or a soft bed. At about the age of twenty, after the completion of his education, another ceremony releases him from the vows of celibacy and admits him to the next *āśrama*, that of the "householder". He gets married and starts keeping home, performs sacrifices to the gods on his own and devotes himself to his profession whatever it may be. This stage is supposed to last until his son reaches the "householder's grade" — or until he himself becomes middle-aged, i.e. when his hair turns grey. Even then he may live in the house but he is relieved from active participation in the household duties, and gives himself up to meditation and worship. This is called *vānaprastha āśrama*. The idealistic view requires a man to give up the house and stay somewhere near in semi-retirement. After leading a life of semi-detachment, at last a man is expected to renounce all his worldly possessions, enter the forest or live at a holy place and die there a peaceful death. The institution of *āśramas* is connected with a theory of life which can be termed "the theory of three debts". This theory says that each man is born with three debts and he must pay them in order to reach heaven. The three debts (*ṛna*) are (a) the debt of the ancestors, (b) the debt to the sages or to the teacher (c) the debt to the gods. The first debt is paid by giving food offerings to the ancestors and ensuring the continuity of the offerings through begetting sons; the debt to the gods is paid by daily worship and, if possible, performance of sacrifices; the debt to the sages is paid by living the life of a pupil and learning the traditional lore.

Kalidasa, who lived in the fourth century A.D. and wrote his poems and dramas in the Gupta period, a period of Hindu renaissance, has given a very vivid description of these stages.⁵⁰ His kings of the house of Raghu were each of them an illustration of the ideals of the Hindu life and of all of them he said collectively that "during boyhood they studied, in manhood they enjoyed the pleasures of love, in old age they lived like sages and they gave up their lives by complete renunciation". Raghu lived in the way depicted here and died after complete renunciation, a state in which no funeral rites were needed.⁵¹

Such an institution of *āśrama* ensured smooth transfer of authority from one generation to another. All the people were not idealists and many clung to their positions of power and worldly enjoyment long after the time of retirement. Many extremely

interesting examples of such situations are offered in the Mahabharata. One might say that the disastrous Mahabharata war was itself the outcome of such behaviour of an aged king who did not honour the institution of *āśrama*. Shantanu's son Bhishma was a famous warrior and a prince beloved by all and should have been the king after him. But Shantanu in his old age got infatuated with the daughter of a crafty fisherman who refused to give his daughter to the king until he was promised that *her* son would get the kingdom and not Bhishma. Not satisfied with this assurance, he demanded that prince Bhishma take a vow of celibacy so as to remove all possibility of rivalry. Bhishma did all this with the result that Shantanu died leaving two weak minor sons, who died childless and heirs had to be begotten on the wives of the younger one through the offices of a Brahmin. The two sons thus born were also physically defective and their children fought the war which destroyed all the kings then ruling.

The institution of *āśrama* was, therefore, a necessity in such a household if a smooth transfer of authority and absence of rivalry in love were to be secured. The duties and mutual behaviour of the members of three generations were, as we have seen, strictly regulated. Sons owed absolute obedience to the fathers, but the fathers in their turn were required to retire gracefully so as to avoid the evils of gerontocracy or the tyrannical rule of the elder and the rebellion of the younger generation which would follow.⁵²

As regards the behaviour pattern among collaterals the conduct was patterned on two principles. The first was the positive principle of ultimate unity of all the males of one generation. The highest virtue was mutual help and sharing in prosperity and calamity. The second principle was the negative one, for avoiding rivalries. The struggle for power among contemporaries was always far more bitter than the struggle for power among the people of two successive generations. It was necessary to use the combined strength of the males of one generation for the preservation of the family, because if they fell out the family would be disintegrated. For the avoidance of rivalry, status was conferred according to ages, the eldest, the first-born son, being placed above all. The eldest succeeded the father in the office of the head of the house (*grha* = house, *pati* = ruler). There is ground to believe that in ancient times he inherited the joint property and managed it on behalf of all.⁵³ He was also the first to marry.

The unity of the "brothers" i.e., those belonging to one generation, and the avoidance of rivalry among them are very important

from the point of view of a family and must be understood clearly by taking a review of all the customs which strengthened it.

A story has been narrated in the Mahabharata⁵⁴ about two brothers who, instead of living together, quarrelled over their inheritance and were born as beasts in their next birth. Apparently Manu was the first to divide the inheritance among his sons. Most law books, however, reserve a greater portion for the eldest son. From the oldest times it was considered a sin for a younger brother to marry before an elder one. If such an incident occurred, the unmarried elder brother, the married younger brother and both the parents were supposed to have committed a grave sin. It seems as if the right of marriage was in some way connected with the right of inheritance and succession to the office of the father. The head of a house kept the household fire going with the help of his wife. He worshipped and offered sacrifices to the gods only if he was accompanied by his wife in all the rituals; he offered food to the dead ancestors, and begot children to perpetuate the line. It should be noted that the major part of the three debts could be paid only by a married man. A married man alone could become the head of a house (*grha-pati*). If a younger brother married, he probably deprived the elder brother of his right to marry and so to inherit. It is possible that the eldest brother alone was ritually married in ancient times. This interpretation is strengthened by certain customs and references to old practices. Thus in ancient times a bride was given in common to a family (of brothers). Among things mentioned as *kalivarjya* (to be avoided in the present epoch) it is stated that in the present age one must not give away a girl to a family. This is interpreted to mean a wife owned and enjoyed communally by brothers.

The Mahabharata records the marriage of Draupadi with all the five brothers. But this is a solitary example, which is found extraordinary even by the epic poet. However, certain circumstances of marriage which are discussed in the poem are very significant. Draupadi was won after a contest of skill in archery by Arjuna, the third of the five Pandava princes. When it was proposed that she should become the wife of all, her brother, prince Dhṛṣṭadyumna objected in a very peculiar manner. He said to Dharma, the eldest, "King, you are known to be wise, and well-versed in the knowledge of what is seemly and unseemly. How can you then propose that the wife of a younger should become the wife of the elders?" This objection was met by getting Draupadi married first to the eldest and then to the other brothers in turn according

to their ages. In the main story of the Mahabharata one reads the full ritual of Draupadi's marriage with all the five brothers. They had many other wives besides Draupadi, but by this act she became the chief wife of all five. In other cases, such a marriage was not required and the younger brothers had apparently sexual rights over the elder brother's wife as is shown by a story related in the epic. The sage Uchathya was married to Mamata. One day Brahhaspati, the younger brother of Uchathya, begged Mamata for the pleasure of her company. Mamata who was in a state of advanced pregnancy, refused by saying, "The child in my womb will be hurt, so please spare me". She objects because of her physical condition only. This story illustrates the right which the younger brother had over the elder's wife.

If it was the ancient custom that the eldest alone should inherit and marry and that his fortune and his wife should be shared by others, it may be assumed that the original meaning of the word *devr* was "husband's younger brother" and not just "husband's brother".⁵⁵ The word *devr* is used in the epic for both the younger and elder brother of the husband. The epic story shows that when a woman was widowed and was childless, a child could be begotten on her either by the elder or younger brother of her husband.

Even when the exclusive right of the eldest had given way before the demands of the others, certain privileges were always preserved for the eldest. The eldest brother was said to be like the "father". He was to be honoured, he succeeded to the father's office and he always got a larger share in inheritance. The rivalries among collaterals were sought to be avoided by ascribing a definite higher status to the eldest. The virtue of the collaterals was brotherly love, the ideal state in a family was good-brotherliness (*saubhrātra*). In the Vedas there are magical formulas and hymns which are to be repeated in order to attain this virtue. The most dreaded quarrel was the quarrel between "brothers". But that was also the most frequent quarrel. Brothers quarrelled most frequently over inheritance. The Ramayana is a story round the intrigues of a woman to secure succession for her own son by setting aside the claims of the elder co-wife and her son. The Mahabharata is the story of a quarrel and was between cousins ("brothers" in Sanskrit) about the succession or division of a kingdom. *Bhrātrvya* (the state of being brothers or belonging to brothers), an abstract noun derived from the word *bhrātṛ* (brother), is used from the Vedic times onwards to denote enmity and rivalry, while *saubhrātrā* (good brotherliness) was a word used for friendship.

The "brothers" had also certain rights in the bride or the wife of the eldest and, as brothers, certain duties towards the elder brother's widow. Whether it was only the eldest brother who married or whether all the brothers married, once a bride was brought home to her husband's house, she remained there till her death. The brothers of the husband had access to her even while her husband was alive.⁵⁶ This custom seems to have become obsolete at an early date but the custom of a widow being given to the brother-in-law or her getting children from him is in full evidence in the older Sanskrit literature including the Mahabharata. A Vedic hymn tells how a widow was made to accompany the dead husband and possibly to lie on the funeral pyre and how the brother-in-law made her get up holding her hands. In another hymn the widow is supposed to be the beloved of her brother-in-law. Throughout this relationship apparently she remained the wife of her dead husband. In the case of a widow who had no brother-in-law and who married outside her husband's kin-group, the question whether she belonged to her former husband after her death apparently troubled people and there is a semi-magical ritual which is supposed to avoid such a calamity. It is said that a particular sacrifice with a goat and five types of rice ensured that a remarried widow would be united to her new husband after her death. These rights of a man's brother in his widow and the duty of a man to protect, inherit and beget children through his brother's widow explain why we have no example of a widow-remarriage in the old literature. As long as a man's agnatic collaterals lived, the widow had to choose from among them or if she had children, she could live in perpetual widowhood but she could not marry out. The remarriage of a widow must have been an extremely rare occurrence. It would, however, not be describing the facts correctly to say that a man could "marry" his elder brother's or occasionally his younger brother's widow. A man could live as husband with a brother's widow but no marriage ceremony was performed for this kind of relationship. The sentiment against widow-remarriage is expressed in a verse by Manu⁵⁷ in which it is said "The property division happens but once, a promise is given once and a daughter also is given but once among good people".

Corresponding to the system by which all brothers were sharers in one woman or by which a widow lived with the younger brothers, there seems to be a custom by which all sisters could be married to one man. All the daughters of the king of Kasi were captured and taken away by Bhishma to marry them to his younger brother K...5.

Vichitravirya. In the story of Ramayana four sisters (cousins?) became wives of the four sons of Dasharatha. There is no example of a man marrying his wife's younger sister after the wife's death, but if a man could marry all sisters at once we can assume that he could marry them one after the other also. This would be rare unless the first wife died very soon after her marriage. To my knowledge no such case is recorded in old Sanskrit literature. The policy of marriage as a means of securing alliance dictated that a man might marry in as many different families as possible. Though the custom of sororate has not many examples in the epic, it never died out in India and was considered as very respectable. But the customs of sharing a wife among brothers and of levirate soon became not only obsolete but definitely forbidden in the later Brahmanical law books. We shall see later that, in spite of the Brahmin opposition, it never died out completely in northern India.

Just as the rivalry and friendship of men in such a family were regulated through the institution of *āśrama* and by awarding a special status to the eldest in each generation, regulation was necessary for the conduct of women of the family also. There was, however, a great difference between the men and women in this type of a joint patri-family. All the men were born in the house, owned the house and lived in it throughout their lives. As regards the women, some of them were born in the family and others were brought in as brides. The rights, duties and behaviour pattern of each of these two groups were entirely different.

The women who were born in a house were in due course given away in marriage and lived in the husband's family till their death, except for very rare visits to the father's house. There were very few women who remained unmarried. A few examples are known from the Vedic texts and from later literature where a woman is advised to seek her own husband if her father failed to arrange a marriage for her. Thus, ordinarily, at any given time the only women who lived in the house of their fathers were the young unmarried girls. That this was actually the case is seen from many descriptions in the epic and in the poems and dramas of later times. They are called *pra-deyā* (to be given away) by Kalidasa and that was how they seem to have been treated in an overwhelming number of instances. They were regarded as means of establishing alliance with new families, of propitiating Brahmins and of getting wealth. Kunti, the mother of the Pandava princes, felt bitterly about the fact that she was given away when but a child to a friendly king by her brother and father. Dasharatha gave

away his daughter Shanta to his friend, king Lomapada. The so-called *svayamvara* (self-choice), of which such magnificent descriptions are given in Sanskrit literature, were not marriages by choice at all. The girl was set as a prize for him who satisfied some difficult test of skill at wielding certain arms. King Drupada wanted powerful fighters to take revenge on Drona. He proclaimed that his daughter would be given to him who showed a certain skill in archery. Arjuna, disguised as a poor mendicant, won the competition and took away Draupadi. The next day Draupadi's brother started making inquiries about the family and the status of the poor beggars and was promptly snubbed by prince Dharma that such inquiries were out of place in the case of a marriage which depended upon a competition in arms. Everything of course turned out well when it was found that the Pandavas belonged to a kingly family. This was not the case in another instance. Amba, the eldest of the Kasi-princesses, had loved Saubha, but lost him because of a *svayamvara* where she was captured by Bhishma. She burnt herself in despair and described the *svayamvara* in the following words, "My fool of a father set a price on me (the price of valour) as if I were a prostitute." Krishna advised Arjuna to take away by force princess Bhadra and remarked cynically that one could never trust a woman's choice. King Sharyata married off his daughter Sukanya to the aged sage Chyavana to propitiate him. Madhavi, the daughter of Yayati, is supposed to have been hawked from king to king to gain horses for a Brahmin ! Madri was secured for king Pandu by giving money lavishly to her father, the king of Madra. The only instances where women exercised free choice in marriage were those of Savitri and Damayanti.

A woman almost never expected to be previously acquainted with the man she married. Neither did she know any relations of her husband. Marriage for a woman must have been an ordeal which changed her environment completely. The day her husband carried her in procession to his house, she lost contact with her father's house and childhood companions and had to go and live among complete strangers. Under all conditions she lived with the husband's people. In pregnancy and childbirth the woman continued living there. No illness brought her back to her parents' house. Even under extremely strained circumstances it was considered honourable for a woman to share her husband's fate. In the case of the Pandavas, Draupadi lived in the forest with her husbands. Most of the other wives lived in the household of king

Dhṛtarashtra who was the uncle of the Pandavas. They were thus living in the enemy camp and, as we have seen, Dharma sent word to them to remain loyal to their husbands.

The different descriptions about marriage show that a woman generally married a man living in another town at some distance from her home town. The hymn which describes the marriage of Surya mentions the many bad spirits which infest the roads and which attack the newly married couple and uses magic formulas to drive them away.

Shakuntala is supposed to have loved Dushyanta but even for her the final parting from her father was sorrowful. All her childhood friends wept as she would never be seen again by them. Sending each daughter to her husband's home is described as an ever new sorrow that a father had to bear.

In the husband's house the woman may or may not fare well. Very rarely was a woman championed by her father's folk in cases of ill-treatment. A woman sent out of the house by the husband might find shelter in her father's home but in certain cases the father's house would also be lost to her, especially if she were accused of immoral conduct. There is a hymn in the Atharvaveda which is a magical incantation against a rival wife. The curses uttered are: "May she be unable to bear children. May she sit for ever and ever in her father's home".⁵⁸ In the case of Shakuntala, when her lover pretended not to recognize her, she turned for help to one of her companions, a Brahmin sage who had come with her to the king's court, but she was sternly told either to remain at the court or to go anywhere she liked, but not to bring disgrace to her father's house by returning there. In the epic women were described as going to live in their father's house only if the husband in some misfortune insisted on sending them there. Bhadra lived with her kinsmen while the Pandavas were in exile. Nala during his period of exile entreated his wife to go to her father but she refused to leave him and so he left her hoping that she would find her way to her father. Sita and Draupadi accompanied their husbands in their exiles.

The day of the marriage represented a great crisis in a woman's life. On that day she was irrevocably transferred from the home of her childhood to a new life with complete strangers. This is well brought out in an imagery in the marriage hymn of Surya where the priest says: "like a gourd, I pluck you from here (father's house) and bind you securely there (in the husband's house)". As the imagery suggested, it was a grafting or transplantation. For a

woman the father's house was but a temporary resting place, the kinsmen with whom she had to live and work were her husband's kinsmen. For a man, the permanent home was his father's house; and kinsmen by marriage were occasional guests and allies on whom he could rely in times of need. The Pandava princes exiled from the patri-clan gathered together a powerful army to fight their cousins. Every prince who fought for the Pandavas was a relation by marriage. For a woman the distinction between the father's house, i.e. the house of birth and the house of marriage, between the status of maidenhood and the status of a married woman, is very well brought out in the kinship words and kinship usages. A man called the people among whom he was born *sva-jana* (own people) and those with whom he was connected by marriage were the *sambandhin* (bound with one). The woman called her father's house and father's kin *pitṛgrha* and *pitṛ-loka* (father's house, father's world), her husband's house *svaśura-grha* and *pati-loka* (the house of the father-in-law or the husband or husband's world). For every term for a kin in the primary family there was a parallel term for the corresponding relatives in the family one married into, as will be seen below:

<i>Pitṛ</i> -father	}	<i>Parents'</i> <i>generation</i>	{	<i>Śvaśura</i> -father-in-law
<i>Mātṛ</i> -mother				<i>Śvaśrū</i> -mother-in-law
<i>Bhrātṛ</i> -brother	}	<i>Ego's</i> <i>generation</i>	{	<i>Devṛ</i> -brother-in-law
<i>Svaśṛ</i> -sister				<i>Nanāndṛ</i> -sister-in-law
Self	}	<i>Ego's</i> <i>generation</i>	{	<i>Pati</i> -husband
				<i>Patnī</i> -wife
<i>Sūnu</i> or <i>putra</i> -son	}	<i>Children's</i> <i>generation</i>	{	<i>Jāmātṛ</i> -son-in-law
<i>Duhitṛ</i> -daughter				<i>Snuṣā</i> -daughter-in-law

Besides these there were a number of terms for brother's wife, sister's husband, brother's and sister's children, etc., already mentioned before and which need not be considered here.

The girls born in a house were called *kanyā* or *duhitṛ* (daughter) while those brought into the house by marriage were *vadhū* or *vadhū-jana*. A man's relations to his kin by marriage were not complicated. He seldom saw them. He was full of respect for his parents-in-law and the elder siblings of his wife. Perhaps he was on joking relationship with his wife's younger brothers and sisters, but no definite data are available regarding this. In Sanskrit literature, the wife's brother played a part which was sometimes

sinister and sometimes ludicrous. The most famous is Shakuni, the brother of princess Gandhari, who originated and fanned the rivalry between the cousins and brought about the war. The blind king Dhṛtarashtra was unable to counteract Shakuni's influence on his children. The second example is that of Kichaka who had a position of influence at the court of Virata because his sister Sūdesna was married to the king. Even when he had evil designs on Draupadi, King Virata was powerless to admonish him and so he was killed by the Pandavas. The third such character is Shakara, at once the villain and the buffoon, of the famous drama *Mṛchhakatika*.

The term for wife's brother is *syāla* or *syālaka*. It is apparently used both for the elder and younger brother of the wife. It is certain that a king swayed by the counsels of his wife's brother was held in contempt.

A woman's ties with her kin by marriage were much more complicated. She had to live most of her life with them and the rules of conduct for her were much more rigid. It appears that in the palaces of the kings the inner apartments were divided, between the *kanyā-antaḥpura* (the apartments of daughters) and *vadhū-antaḥpura* (the married women's apartments). In the former there was much dancing, joking and frolic, while in the latter, women were quieter, watched as they were by the elder women of the husband's household. In the married women's apartments drinking and love-scenes would be indulged in between the husband and wife, but when the women were together the whole tone would be subdued. A woman rarely spoke directly to her mother-in-law, and almost never to her father-in-law. She referred to the father-in-law and mother-in-law by the words *ārya* and *āryā* respectively. A man would refer to his parents-in-law also by using these words. *Ārya* and *āryā* were used for a number of distant relatives and unrelated elderly men and women.

A man had absolute right over his wife and the prescribed behaviour for a married woman was to be a *pativrata* (following the will of the husband). Later the word came to denote "chastity", but originally it stood for exactly what it literally means. If the husband willed it, the wife had to yield to any stranger to bear sons and in so doing she was still considered to be *pativrata*. This right would be exercised on her by her husband or, if the husband were dead, by her mother-in-law. A married woman had to be very careful in her behaviour towards her many co-wives as also towards the wives of the husband's brothers. That is how Drau-

padi behaved and so also Kunti though there were occasional bursts of jealousy. Kalidasa lays it down that a girl should behave towards the other wives of her husband as if they were her dear friends and the ideal was illustrated by the poet Bhasa in his drama where he depicts the characters of Vasavadatta and Padmavati, the wives of Udayana. A more realistic picture of this relationship is, however, given in the incantations of the Atharvaveda where a woman wishes her rival to be barren and ugly in the eyes of the husband.

When the daughter-in-law became a mother, she achieved a position of respect and power. Her sons looked up to her; the restrictions on her appearances among the men would be lessened. She advised the sons, ruled her daughters-in-law with an iron hand and when the head of the house (i.e. her husband) predeceased his wife, it could become a real despotic feminine rule.

But in order to reach even this position she had to be the wife of the eldest. If she was the wife of the eldest male, she was a real ruler. She bossed over the whole household including even her aged parents-in-law and her brothers-in-law. That is why the ambition of each woman was to be the first wife of the eldest son. That was also the benediction given to her in the R̥gvedic hymn in connection with Surya's marriage. "Be a *gṛha-patnī* (i.e., be the foremost wife of the house, may your husband be a *gṛhapati*), rule over your parents-in-law and your brothers- and sisters-in-law."

All the rivalries inherent in a patriarchal joint family were reflected in the attitudes of the women. They were at once the strength and weakness of the house. They were the strength because they fought with desperate courage on behalf of their husbands and sons. They were the weakness because in the case of a fight between their husbands and fathers, though they were taught to fight on the side of the husbands, natural ties might make them side with their fathers. While it was the endeavour of a man to keep his sons united, each of the sons' wives wanted her husband to dominate and, failing that, to separate from the joint family with his share of the patrimony. Women are often depicted as the origin of all quarrels in a joint family. It is said, "a house prospers as long as the women are good but if they are evil nothing can stop the destruction and annihilation of a family."

The behaviour pattern prescribed at their father's home for girls was more easy. A girl during her brief stay at her father's house could frolic and play; could even have a lover without too great a shame. In R̥gveda fire is called the secret lover of maidens (*jāras*

kanīnām). On the other hand the whole kin of the husband watched over a married woman.

This situation coupled with the fact that a girl had to leave her father's house at marriage created certain rivalries between a woman and her husband's sister or, what comes to the same thing, between a woman and her brother's wife. A woman resents a strange girl coming and settling into her father's house and holding a position of respect. She is active in spying over the young bride and reporting every misbehaviour to her mother. This behaviour could become really dangerous if the husband's sister were widowed or had been driven from her own husband's house and had come to live at her father's house. Panini the Sanskrit grammarian gives a rule for compounding different words together. He says that names of those creatures who are known as natural enemies can be compounded together. As an example of this he gives the compounded words *ahi-nakula* (snake — mongoose) and husband's sister — brother's wife !

The study of the personality patterns developed in this type of family organization is very interesting. It was a man's society in which women played a very peculiar role. All Sanskrit literature, except for a few hymns supposed to have been composed by women, is a literature created by men and yet, especially in the older literature, we get very life-like portraits of women which have been drawn sensitively. Although the pattern of behaviour was laid down by men, each famous woman of myth and story is not moulded in a dead uniform pattern, but is a living reality. Under similar environments each developed a separate personality and yet it is recognizable as a personality developed under definite and peculiar family circumstances.

A woman's soul moved in two worlds. A half-forgotten, generally happy, dream-like existence at the father's house which lived on in memory magnified and idealized, and a more real existence among the husband's people — an existence full of fear and hope, humiliation and exaltation, ending inevitably in renunciation and all the time, in whichever phase of existence, it was bound up with the will of others.

Kunti remembered with regrets the brief childhood when she played with a ball at her father's house. We get a brief, happy glimpse of the pampered, carefree life of princess Uttara, playing with her dolls. Sita is said to have played at horse-riding with an old bow in her father's court. Then comes the marriage, always without choice and always with some stranger. Princess Gandhari

had to marry a blind man who was as foolish as he was helpless. She bore a hundred sons only to see them spurn her advice and die in a battle. About this great woman a later poet said, "She gave birth not to a hundred sons but a hundred sorrows."

The story of the Kasi princesses has been already told. Probably in the world's literature there could be no other women more wronged and more tragic.

Kunti was not good-looking, had to bear a rival (Madri) and pretend to be good to her.

Sweet Madri, married to an impotent man, had to live under the authority of her elder rival Kunti and when her husband died, she preferred to die rather than live with her husband's elder wife. Draupadi was the proud princess of the war-like Panchalas. What little social position the Pandavas gained was due to their marriage with her and yet she was gambled away by her husband at dice-play. Nala did the same thing. Sita had no rival, her husband did not make her submit to a stranger for the sake of begetting a son, nor make her a pawn in a game of chance and yet at the smallest breath of a scandal he abandoned her in a forest. To the honour of the poets may it be said that the husband of each of these women was blamed, but we fail to get a glimpse of the woman's thought in all these circumstances. We must not imagine that her life was all sorrow. More often it was a happy life of a pet daughter, a beloved wife and an honoured mother; but whatever it was, frustrated or successful, it was made so, mostly by agencies other than her own will. She was owned by someone and her master made her life.

A consideration of the peculiar position of women in the household will show that the custom of early marriage may have arisen out of the necessity of a patrilineal household to incorporate women from alien families as members of their household. An early transfer of a girl into her husband's household would ensure her loyalties. A girl would be bound by ties of companionship to the members of her husband's family long before she started her life as the wife of a person. A description of these ties and the feelings a man had for his wife is found in a Sanskrit drama. King Rama, while on the point of exiling Sita to a forest says, "The loved one was fed and clothed (in my family) since she was but a child, in youth she was never separated from me and now I am handing her over to death like handing over a pet bird to a butcher."⁵⁰

The tendency towards early marriage seems to be due to the

desirability of getting women into the family at a tender age.

There was, later on, also the urge to assure the virginity of the bride and the desire to give away virgin daughters. A woman at her father's home had always greater licence than at her husband's place and, as we have seen, could have a lover. She was therefore given away in the custody of her husband's people as early as possible.

This aspect of the relation of a man and a woman brings us to the concepts of sonship, fatherhood and wifehood in ancient India.

In the Mahabharata, Pandu is supposed to be giving the authority of law books (Dharmadarshana) for the following enumeration of sons.

The first six are kin (*bandhu*) and inheritors, while the next six are neither kin, nor have they the right to inherit. They are: (1) a son born to oneself — *swayamjāta*, (2) a son born to one's wife by somebody else to whom she is led by the husband — *praṇīta*, (3) a son born to one's wife from somebody who is paid for the service — *parikrīta*, (4) a son born to a remarried wife from her first husband — *paunarbhava*, (5) a son born to one's wife when she was a maiden — *kānīna*, (6) a son born to the wife from a secret lover — *svairiṇyām jāta*. The next six are. (1) an adoptive son given by his parents, (2) a son bought from his parents, (3) one who is brought up in the family as an orphan, (4) one who comes of his own accord for protection, (5) a grown up son of the wife at the time of her marriage, and (6) one who is born of a woman of a low caste.

The list is very significant. The first six are sons born to oneself, or sons on whom ownership is established through ownership over the wife. In the second category are four who are not related in any way either to the man or the wife. The fifth, though born of the wife, had reached the adult stage and must have gone through the stages of infancy and celibacy (*brahmacarya*) and could not be incorporated into the new family. The last is a peculiar example. This son is the son born of the father but from a woman of inferior caste. Such a son was, for example, Vidura and it is told in the epic⁶⁰ that, though wise and without any blemish, he could not inherit the kingdom as his mother was of an inferior birth. In the epic itself we have the instance of Yuyutsu who, a son of a woman of inferior caste, was not made the king but given the guardianship of Parikshit the heir of the Pandavas.

Manu in his Dharmashastra gives a list of sons and places them in the following order: own son, son borne by one's wife and the

adopted son. The adopted son assumes a position not accorded to him in the epic. Later Smṛtis and practice acknowledge only two types viz. the own son and the adopted son. This sharp difference is due to the changing concept as regards a woman's chastity. The same word (*pativrata*) is used for a chaste woman. Up to the epic age the word meant a woman who followed the will of her husband. A woman who had a child by a man other than her husband, because the husband so willed it, was also a *pativrata*; but later on, this practice as also the practice of getting a child through the office of a brother-in-law was banned. All the former practices were called *kalivarjya* — forbidden in the Kali age (i.e. the present age).

The epic story, which tells us of a number of childless kings, does not give a single authentic example of an adopted son. One king⁶¹ (Bharata) is said to have disinherited all his sons and got a son from the sage Bharadwaja. The epic does not say how (whether by lending his queen to Bharadwaja or whether by adoption). Later Puranas elaborate the story to say that he adopted a son of Bharadwaja.

The only story of adoption is the story told in a Brāhmaṇa that the sage Vishvamitra adopted as son a boy who was to be offered to god Varuna. There were two cases of adoption of two girls — Kunti and Shanta who were given by their fathers as adopted daughters to their friends. I have already described before that girls were made use of for all kinds of aims and there was obviously no objection to giving, lending or borrowing them. But male children were the soul of the joint family and nobody cared to give them in adoption. In order to get sons, kings lent their wives to Brahmins or laid claim to the sons born to the wives, while they were yet maidens. The word "*kṣetra*" (a field or agricultural land) is used for a wife and it is said that "Vyasa generated progeny in the *kṣetra* of (the dead) king Vichitravirya". This illustrates the so-called *bījakṣetra* (seed-field) analogy. One sentence puts it "the son is his who holds the hand in marriage (*pāṇigrāhasya tanayas*)."⁶² The other is supposed to be an old Gatha (a couplet) quoted in the story of Shakuntala which gives quite a contrary concept. It says, "The mother is but a leather pouch. The child is his who generates him. He is the father himself."⁶³ This last contradicts the '*bījakṣetra*' analogy inasmuch as claim is laid to a child on the strength of having begotten it — being the possessor of the seed — but the circumstances of the story are such that king Dushyanta had not married Shakun-

tala and so could not lay legal claim on the child as the *owner of the mother*. He was afraid that people would blame him for accepting into his harem a woman who came with a child. In such a case the populace had to be told that the child was his and that he was, therefore, entitled to shelter the mother. The basic sentiment is the same everywhere. The mother is the field, the leather bag, a passive carrier of a precious treasure, which was owned by him who could claim the woman.

One wonders why the ancient Aryans were averse to adoption which became later on a deep-rooted custom among the Hindus. No definite reason for this aversion is evident, though the aversion to adoption is explicitly voiced. One may venture to say that the Kshatriyas felt that adoption of a son would amount to a confession of dire poverty, where one did not possess even one wife who could be used for getting a son from a man of one's own choice. Can it be that adoption was a custom native to pre-Aryan India? Such a custom is reported of the people of the Pacific by modern anthropologists.

The whole concept of kinship and family was social and legal. Instead of starting the description of a family from "father and mother", as is done in modern anthropological literature, it would be more realistic to start from the "husband-wife" relationship as far as the ancient Indian data are concerned. A woman became the wife of somebody by a public ritual. A son is then defined as the male issue born of the wife by the husband or by anybody else. The child born to a woman before marriage also belonged to the husband, provided it was not already given to somebody. A "father" was the legal husband of the mother. A "mother" was the wife or one of the wives of the father. In the genealogy we find that Vyasa is the biological father of Dhṛtarashtra. On many occasions he advised the blind king to give to the Pandavas their due share of the kingdom, but no attention was paid to this. This would not have been the case if he were the legal and social father. Though much stress is laid on physical continuity and the "son being the father himself", there is no doubt that the definition of a son was primarily a legal definition. This concept dominated the rights not only of inheritance but also ritual duties, especially the duty of offering food to the dead ancestors. When a man gives offerings of food to his father and grandfather, etc. he takes care to mention that even if his mother and grandmother had erred and conceived from the semen other than his father's and grandfather's, may the offerings not go to the unknown progenitor, but may it go

to the proper (the social and legal) father. The lines are as follows.⁶⁴

“Whatever enticed my mother who was behaving contrary to her husband’s wishes, that semen may my father cut off. Let the other perish. To my father this offering I give.”

“Whatever enticed my grandmother (wife of the grandfather) etc.”

“Whatever enticed my great-grandmother (wife of the great-grandfather) etc.”

Under these circumstances a woman’s failure to preserve chastity was either overlooked or not too severely punished. Even when punishment was meted out to a woman, the children of such a union apparently were neither punished nor discarded. In the story of Ramayana, for example, Rama was quite willing to accept the twins as his children but required Sita, the mother of the twins, to undergo an ordeal. One wonders whether the children would have been accepted if the ordeal had not proved Sita’s chastity. The lines quoted above make one surmise that there would have been no bar to Rama’s acknowledging the sons even if Sita were proved disloyal. Harivamsa tells us that king Kamsa was born to the queen of Ugrasena from an “Asura” who had captured her and kept her with him for a period. Ugrasena rescued his wife and brought her to Mathura where she delivered of this son who, though known to be the son of an Asura, was accepted as the eldest son and heir of King Ugrasena.⁶⁵

The customs of levirate and begetting children by engaging the services of a stranger fell gradually into disrepute and were condemned by later Smṛtis. Woman’s chastity before and after marriage came to be greatly valued. One cannot say that the custom of burning a widow on the funeral pyre of the husband was a late innovation of the post-Christian age. The custom is indicated in the R̥gveda and the epic describes the self-immolation of queen Madri, but the custom was not universal even among Brahmins. Various factors in the Hindu society of the post-Christian era helped to bring the custom into prominence and the emphasis on a woman’s chastity and forbidding of levirate and widow-remarriage were some of the factors which helped the custom to take root among the Brahmins.

It seems that the emphasis on woman’s chastity and on individual inheritance and marriage gradually made levirate an obsolete

custom though it never vanished entirely from India as we shall see later. Among the majority of people in India the system of adoption took very firm root and has contributed greatly to long-drawn legal disputes and many unnecessary quarrels and sorrows in the home-life.

The purely Sanskrit tradition⁶⁶ gives the picture of a patrilocal, patrilineal and patriarchal family with marriage rules based on considerations of consanguinity with reference to the families of the father and mother. For the purposes of marriage all cousins were considered as brothers and sisters and marriage among them was tabooed.

The patrilocal family was a large joint family without any identifying designation like a common family — or clan-name to distinguish it from other families. A family, therefore, was held to be one because it resided at one place. The Brahmins, who were the most mobile class, soon introduced the *gotra* system which they probably modelled on the patrilineal clan system of the non-Aryans and banned marriage within a *gotra*.⁶⁷ The ancient Aryan system of marriage was a system of alliances, each generation seeking alliances ever farther and farther and thus creating a confederation of families allied by ties of marriage.

The kin by marriage was the kin which always supported and defended a person when disputes arose as regards inheritance or succession with one's own kin. The man had thus "own" kin, i.e. his patri-family, and the "bound" kin, i.e. kin by marriage. He was born, brought up and lived his whole life with the patri-kin in normal circumstances.

The women spent their childhood with the patri-kin and were given away to grooms whom they had never known before. They lived in two worlds: the world of childhood among patri-kin and the world of adult life among the husband's people. Their hearts yearned for the patri-kin, while their duty lay with the husband's kin. They wielded much influence as wives and mothers in the houses of their husbands.

Although the woman enjoyed some freedom in her father's house, in the husband's house she was jealously guarded by all her husband's kin. In ancient days there was a double standard of morality for women. One, not too strict, for the unmarried girls living with the father and another for married women. The life in that household was a constant struggle for power and status among mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, among wives of different brothers and among the many wives of the same man. We have a

dichotomy between the men's world and the women's, the own kin versus the relations by marriage (heightened in the case of women) and between women born in the house and women brought as brides into the house.

The patri-family was a unit and a woman, after her marriage, belonged as much to the brother-in-law as to the husband, a definite bias being shown towards junior levirate. But the epic example shows that a widow might be given over also to an elder brother of the deceased under exceptional circumstances.

In this patri-family the position of women was very low, as can be gathered from the examples given. They were property. Sons were property too, but they could come into their own and become owners of something. A woman was owned by her husband and had to do his bidding. She was married away early and the basis of marriage was money or powerful alliance. She almost never went back to her father's house, but when she did she was an honoured visitor or came to seek shelter, being reduced to poverty or driven away by her husband. The only difference between her and the slaves was that as the first, the eldest among wives, or as the only wife, she automatically shared in the status of her husband. If he was the male head, she was the female head; if he was crowned, she would be crowned with him. He could not perform any sacrifice without her.⁶⁸ Also her son usually succeeded the father.⁶⁹ Unless she was driven out of the husband's house for misdemeanour, she was assured of protection for life. She could not be sold or sent away or gifted away like a slave. The norm of treatment for women in good houses is given in the following verses of Manu, often quoted, but generally misunderstood.

"Where women (wives?) are honoured, there the gods like to live. Where they are not honoured, all work is fruitless. Where women grieve, that house perishes; where they do not grieve, that house prospers. The house which is cursed by women is destroyed as if hit by evil magic. Therefore, they should be kept honoured and happy with gifts of ornaments if one wishes prosperity for the house". These verses are often quoted in India as a proof of the high status of women. On the contrary, they show the utterly dependent position of women and exhort that the mark of decency and nobility lay in proper honour to women. The legal position was low and dependent, but it was made up for by raising the mother to the position of a god and enjoining courtesy to the wife and indulgence towards the daughter.

Such in short was the picture of the ancients' family. Many aspects of this organization were kept intact by the British law-courts which followed the practices laid down by the famous commentaries of the medieval times, which are described later. The legal and social nature of the family is being changed through new laws and through new social conditions, but in a large measure and in the long established sentiments right upto today, it has remained intact, as we shall see in the next chapter.

REFERENCES

¹ For a more detailed discussion and various vedic references, see: I. KARVE, *Kinship Terminology and Kinship Usages in R̥gveda and Atharvaveda*, Annals BORI, Vol. XX, pp. 69-96; 109-144; 213-234.

² *Aitareya Brahmana*, V, 14, 3; VII, 14, 8.

³ *Ibid.* VII, 13-18.

⁴ *R.V.* 4, 17.

⁵ *Ibid.* 3, 33, 3.

⁶ *Ibid.* 2, 41, 16.

⁷ The word *janyah* occurs in an expression which would mean: "who were the *vara*, who were the *janya*?" It has been translated as: "Who were the grooms and who were the companions of the groom?" *Janya* means a compatriot. It might be derived from *janī* wife, woman, and might mean "belonging to the wife". This latter meaning is given above.

⁸ The Yajurveda is one of the four Vedas. The Taittiriya is the older version and the Vajasaneya is a slightly later, 'reformed' version.

⁹ *R.V.* 10, 10 (It is customary to designate verses in the Vedas as "hymns". Not all, however, are sung in praise of god. Some appear in the form of a dialogue, some purport to tell a story. I have, therefore, referred to them as songs, verses or hymns.)

¹⁰ SUMNER, KELLER, DAVIE, *The Science of Society*, Vol. II, p. 1031; Vol. III, pp. 1573 and 1896.

¹¹ *R.V.*, 10, 162, 5.

¹² P. VON THIEME, *Der Fremdling in R̥gveda*.

¹³ *A.V.*, 2, 36, 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 14, 2, 66-67.

¹⁵ *A.V.*, 8, 6, 24.

¹⁶ *R.V.*, 1, 109, 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 10, 11, 2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 8, 102, 11.

¹⁹ *A.V.*, 14, 2, 24.

²⁰ *R.V.*, 10, 85, 46; *A.V.*, 14, 1, 44.

²¹ *A.V.*, 6, 112, 1-2-3.

²² *R.V.*, 10, 40, 2.

²³ *Ibid.*, 10, 18, 7-8; *A.V.*, 10, 3, 1-2.

²⁴ *A.V.*, 9, 5, 27-28.

²⁵ In this context, the biblical story of Esau and Jacob is worth considering.

²⁶ R.V., 2, 17, 7; 10, 39, 3; 10, 85, 20. A.V., 6, 60, 1; 14, 2, 33.

²⁷ A.V., 10, 1, 3.

²⁸ M. WINTERNITZ, A. *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, University of Calcutta, 1927.

²⁹ For a detailed study of the terms in Mahabharata, see the author's article "*Kinship Terms and the Family Organization as found in the Critical Edition of the Mahabharata*", BDCRI, Vol. V, p. 61.

³⁰ The Mahabharata story is given in the Appendix to this chapter together with the genealogy.

³¹ In this particular instance the old queen sent her illegitimate son Vyasa, born of a Brahmin before marriage. The widowed queens, her daughters-in-law, are said to have fainted at the sight of the unkempt, wild appearance of this "sage" from the forest and so their progeny is said to have been "defective". A son of the mother is always a "brother" and therefore Vyasa was a "brother" of the deceased king Vichitravirya, but the young queens did not know of the existence of a pre-marital child of their mother-in-law.

³² (a) Arjuna visited Dwaraka and eloped with a "sister" of Kṛṣṇa.

(b) Bharata, the younger brother of Rama was on a visit to his mother's people at the time when Rama was sent into exile.

(c) The fateful visit of Vidudabha to his mother's people, described in Pali literature (see I. KARVE, *Hindu Society — An Interpretation*, Poona, Deccan College, 1961, p. 74) is another example. The mothers apparently never went back.

³³ Janaka was apparently the name of *one* man, as also of the ruling kings of that line. The practice is found in many kingly houses in the epics.

³⁴ How different lands came to be known, need not be discussed here. Those interested may refer to Panini.

³⁵ In Mahabharata a princess of Kashi is called Kausalya and Kalidasa calls the kingdom, whose capital was Ayodhya, by the name Uttara-Kosala (northern Kosala). See *Raghuvamśa*, canto 13, verse 62.

³⁶ I. KARVE, *loc. cit.*

³⁷ *Bhagavata Purana*, 9, 24.

³⁸ In the Sanskrit literature *kula* is used in many derivatives. *Vamśa* is always used in a narrower sense and has few derivatives. *Kula* came to stand for respectability, moral integrity and high status. *Kule janma* = being born in a *kula*, was a sign of respectability. The same was conveyed by the word *kulīna*. *Kula-pati* was the head of a *kula*, which may be a big localized joint family or, in the case of Brahmins, a man heading a settlement of many (related) families.

³⁹ In the post-British literature on castes and in the actual field, one comes across the word *gotra* or *gota* used by castes other than Brahmins. These words are used to designate certain divisions of the caste and have significance in marriage practices. But a careful study shows that in almost all cases they are (a) different from Brahmin *gotra*, and (b) have different meanings in different castes.

⁴⁰ The question of the position of women is dealt with at the end and it takes up the whole time-span from the Vedic to the medieval period.

⁴¹ For details see *Pinda-pitr-yajnya*, O. DONNER, *Das Manen-opfer bei den Indern, Abh. aus d. ved. Ritual*, Berlin 1870.

⁴² *Dharmasindhu*, third part, p. 272, Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, quoted K...6.

and explained on p. 74, Vol. XXVII (*Sāpiṇḍya*), Hindu Law Texts, 1st edition, 1943, Bombay.

⁴³ A very lucid account of *gotra* and *pravara* is to be found in JOHN BROUGH, *The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara*, Cambridge University Press, 1953.

⁴⁴ *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* — the story of Satyakama Jabala." The same custom was found among Kshatriyas, who had to pronounce the *kula* while taking part in a tournament. In Mahabharata (Adiparvan) there is an incident where Arjuna declined to compete with Karna, who did not belong to a Kshatriya *kula*.

⁴⁵ BROUGH, *Op. cit.*, also for additional references.

⁴⁶ Mahabharata, 1.41 1.44 A Brahmin marrying a woman of the Naga tribe.

1.25.1.....4 A Brahmin marrying a Niśada woman and living with the tribe of his wife.

1.220. 4 to 1. 225.19 A Brahmin living in a forest and marrying a "bird" woman (possibly a clan-name "Bird").

⁴⁷ For a description of this see Ch. V.

A great deal is written about whether the Kshatriyas had *gotras* or not. The above discussion makes it clear that the Kshatriyas did not possess *gotras*. The Kshatriyas adopted *gotras* in imitation of the Brahmin *gotras* in post-epic times but the adoption merely amounted to adding an appendage to the family name and was not functional as in the case of Brahmins. Buddha is supposed to be of Gautama *gotra*. His family was Ikshvaku. The Janakas were also a branch of the same family and ruled over what is at present known as the southern portion of Nepal, a region to which Buddha's family also belonged. The priest of the Janakas was supposed to be Shatananda, a Gautama, and that is why Buddha is called a Gotama. Many Kshatriyas are supposed to have adopted the *gotra* of their priests.

⁴⁸ *Udyogaparvan*, Chapter 30, pp. 110-18. Mahabharata, Vol. VI, Critical Edition, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1940.

⁴⁹ *Dharmasindhusara*, p. 174.

⁵⁰ *Raghuvamśa*, Canto I, Verse 8; Canto VIII Verses 10-26.

⁵¹ This last ceremony of renunciation is performed even now by some people in India. It prescribes among other things, performing one's funeral rites oneself, and declaring one's death. Such a man then changes his name and is called a *sanyāsin*. He cannot have any relatives and family after this.

⁵² The following socio-philosophical theory is given for the *āśrama*. Every person is born with three debts. One to the sages, one to the gods and one to the ancestors. The debt to the sages is paid through learning in the first *āśrama*. The debt to the gods is paid through sacrifices and the debt to the ancestors is paid by begetting sons who can perpetuate the giving of food to the dead. The latter two debts are paid in the second *āśrama* when a man becomes a householder by marrying and is then entitled to undertake sacrifices. After paying these debts a man is "free" and so can retire from life and society to think of his own soul and of the *Brahman* and to realize the truth of his being one with *Brahman*. A man, therefore, cannot pass on to the third and fourth stages without going through the first two. It may be noted here that according to the Hindu theory the married state is the highest and a necessary state in a man's life.

⁵³ *Jyeṣṭho-dāyādas*—"The eldest is the enjoyer of inheritance" quoted by P. V. Kane in JBBRAS, Vol. 12, 1936, Nos. 1-2.

⁵⁴ *Mahabharata*, Critical Edition, Adiparvan 1, 25 10-20.

⁵⁵ It must be stated, that there are references which can be interpreted to mean that the eldest alone inherited, that a girl was given as a bride to a family and not to an individual, that there were clear rules that the eldest must marry first and that if a younger married before the elder a sin was committed. However, there is no authentic and explicit record either in a story or a didactic statement which states all these things in one rule of conduct.

⁵⁶ cf. *Nirukta*, 3.15.

⁵⁷ *Manusmṛti*, Chapter 9, Verse 47.

⁵⁸ *Atharvaveda*, 1.14-literally "May her hymenal passage remain closed".

⁵⁹ *Uttara-rāma-carita* by Bhavabhuti, 6-7th century A.D.

⁶⁰ Critical Edition of *Mahabharata*, 1-111. 27-29, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

⁶¹ In the Adiparvan of the Critical Edition, 1.89.17 and 18, we find it mentioned that Bharata drove off all his sons as unworthy and took a son from the Brahmin Bharadvaja. It is not mentioned whether he was *dattaka* (adopted) in the usual way. The Puranas say that he was a *dvyāmuṣyāyana* i.e. belonging to two fathers — his own and the king.

⁶² *Mahabharata*, 1.98.8.

⁶³ *Mahabharata*, 1.69.29.

⁶⁴ *Kṛsnayajurveda, Ekagnikanda*, with commentary by HARADATTA MISRA. *Bibliotheca Sanskritica*, Vol. 23 (Mysore Government Press 1902), pp. 178-9.

⁶⁵ *Harivamśa*, 2.28.

⁶⁶ *Brhatkathā* is an anthology in Sanskrit of stories originally supposed to be written in the Paishachi dialect and hence are not counted in this tradition, though they are rich in sociological material.

⁶⁷ The other function of the *gotra* system was a purely cultural one of giving the far-flung and heterogeneous Brahmin group a common and sacred origin.

⁶⁸ The feminine of *pati* was *patnī* according to the grammarian Panini (6th century B.C.) in her capacity as the partner in the ritual of the sacrificial performances. The same thought was expressed later by Kalidasa (*Raghuvamśa*, 13). Rama was performing sacrifices as was the custom of great kings. Sita, as the abandoned wife, living in exile, heard of this and thought that he had married again. Even in her deep sorrow she felt a little happy when she was told that Rama had made a golden image of her and performed the sacrifices with it by his side.

⁶⁹ Some kings disinherited their older sons. Such examples can be gleaned from the *Mahabharata* and the Puranas.

APPENDIX 1

The Mahabharata is the story of a family feud. The family as depicted in the Mahabharata is chosen as the type family for the ancient north. Though in certain respects aberrant practices were followed by members of this family, it illustrates almost all the behaviour patterns of different kin. The genealogy of the related families is given below and the following story, given in short, will make clear the kinship of the different people.

The main story is about a kingly house which called itself Kaurava. The complete genealogy includes over a hundred kings starting from the Sun-god, Surya*. The genealogy illustrated here is a fragment of the whole and starts from King Pratipa. Pratipa's wife was a princess from the family of Magadha, a country in the eastern Gangetic plain† (modern Patna in the State of Bihar). They had three sons — Devapi, Balhika and Shantanu. Devapi was disinherited because he suffered from some disease. Balhika inherited the kingdom of his maternal grandfather and became the king of the Balhikas.

Shantanu, though the youngest, thus became the king in the Kaurava line. His first wife was Ganga from whom he had a son, prince Bhishma, who was declared heir to the throne. When Shantanu was old, he met a beautiful girl, the daughter of the chief of fisher-folk called Dasa. He wanted to marry this girl, but her father insisted that he would give his daughter in marriage only if Bhishma gave up all claim to his father's throne and promised never to marry. The young prince did this for the sake of his father and so Shantanu was married to Satyawati or Matsyagandha, the fisher-maid. This girl had a son born to her long before she met Shantanu. This child was born of a Brahmin sage Parāshara. The son's name was Kṛshna ("the black one") — Dvaipayana (born on an island). This fact was kept secret until very much later. (This son later became well known as 'Vyasa', the author of Mahabharata). Satyawati as the queen of Shantanu gave birth to two sons: Chitrangada and Vichitravirya. Shantanu died soon after and the young boys were cared for and brought up by

* F. E. PARGITER, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Oxford University Press, London, 1922, pp. 144-9.

† Though only one wife is mentioned, Pratipa seems to have had at least one more wife, a princess of the country of the Balhikas. One of Pratipa's sons is called Balhika and he is said to have inherited his mother's father's kingdom which seems to be Balhika (south Punjab) and not Magadha as other kings ruled Magadha.

their step-brother Bhishma. Prince Chitrangada died very young. Bhishma captured Ambika and Ambalika, the princesses of Kashi (the region around modern Banaras) and Kosala as brides for his remaining younger step-brother who was however a weakling and died of tuberculosis soon after his marriage. The house of Kurus was thus left without an heir.

Then Satyawati, Shantanu's second wife, begged Bhishma to become king, to marry and to continue the Kuru line. He refused on the ground that he had taken a very sacred oath to refrain from all these. In this impasse Satyawati revealed to Bhishma that she had a son born to her before her marriage and with Bhishma's consent called on him as the step-brother of the deceased prince to produce sons from the wives of Vichitravirya. Ambika fainted at the sight of the unkempt Brahmin when she was expecting a Kuru prince and the child born of this union was born blind and named Dhṛtarashtra. Then Satyawati sent Vyasa, her "illegitimate" son, to the second daughter-in-law Ambalika, who turned pale. The son born of this union was white (albino? leucoderma?) and was called Pandu. So after admonishing the two princesses, Satyawati sent her son once more to them. They dared not express their disgust to the mother-in-law, but made their maid-servant receive the sage and sleep with him. A fine boy was born of this union and was named Vidura. The three boys grew up to manhood under the care of Bhishma. Dhṛtarashtra was set aside as he was blind, as also Vidura because he was the son of a maid-servant and Pandu became the king. Dhṛtarashtra was married to Gandhari, the princess of Gandhara. Her brother Shakuni came and apparently lived at the Kuru court. Pandu had two wives — Kunti, a princess of the house of the Yadavas, and Madri, a princess of the Madra kingdom. Pandu is said to have shown valour by conquering many kings, but soon after retired with his two wives to the Himalayan forests because of a curse and Dhṛtarashtra remained in the capital. Pandu could not co-habit with his wives and so they got sons from certain gods. Kunti had three sons Yudhishtira (also called Dharma), Bhima and Arjuna; Madri had twins Nakula and Sahadeva. Dhṛtarashtra had one hundred sons and one daughter. The eldest son, who was however younger than Dharma, was named Duryodhana. Pandu died while his sons were yet very young. The sons were brought to the capital and established in the royal household and received instruction in arms with the sons of Dhṛtarashtra. Pandu's younger queen immolated herself on his funeral pyre and Kunti lived to bring up her own

and her co-wife's children. Dhṛtarashtra seems to have assumed kingship some time after Pandu's retirement to the forest because he is mentioned as "king" but his coronation ceremony or the time of assumption of kingship is not mentioned in the epic. Duryodhana tried to kill the Pandavas (Pandu's sons) either with the help or the connivance of his father, the blind Dhṛtarashtra. But such attempts ended only in greater glory for the Pandavas. Arjuna in the disguise of a poor Brahmin won the hand of Princess Draupadi, the daughter of king Drupada. This princess became the wife of all the five brothers. Besides this common wife, each brother had other wives too. Arjuna married Subhadra, seminal sister of Kṛṣṇa, who was Kunti's brother's son. The Pandavas after many hardships came back to the capital and claimed a share in the kingdom and were given a portion of it and lived there with great pomp after founding a new city called Indraprastha. Dharma the eldest was challenged to a game of dice by Duryodhana and a match was played where Shakuni, the maternal uncle of Duryodhana, played on his behalf. The Pandavas lost their kingdom and even their queen who was, however, given back to them. They were banished from the kingdom for thirteen years. It was hoped that they would perish in the forest but they again came out successful. They concluded a new alliance by arranging the marriage of Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna, with Uttara, the daughter of Virata. On their return from the banishment, Duryodhana refused to give the Pandavas any share in the kingdom and so a terrible battle was fought in which all the warriors were killed except the old blind Dhṛtarashtra and his wife, Vidura, Kunti, the five Pandava brothers and Draupadi, Yuyutsu the illegitimate son of Dhṛtarashtra and Kṛṣṇa.

Yudhishtira, as the eldest of the brothers, became the king of the ancestral throne, and gave a portion of the kingdom to Yuyutsu as the heir of Dhṛtrashtra. The Pandavas ruled for some time and then retired giving the kingdom to their only heir Parikṣit, the posthumous son of Abhimanyu from princess Uttara.

This is, in short, the story of the epic and the accompanying genealogical tree (pp. 88-89) gives the relation of the different actors to one another.

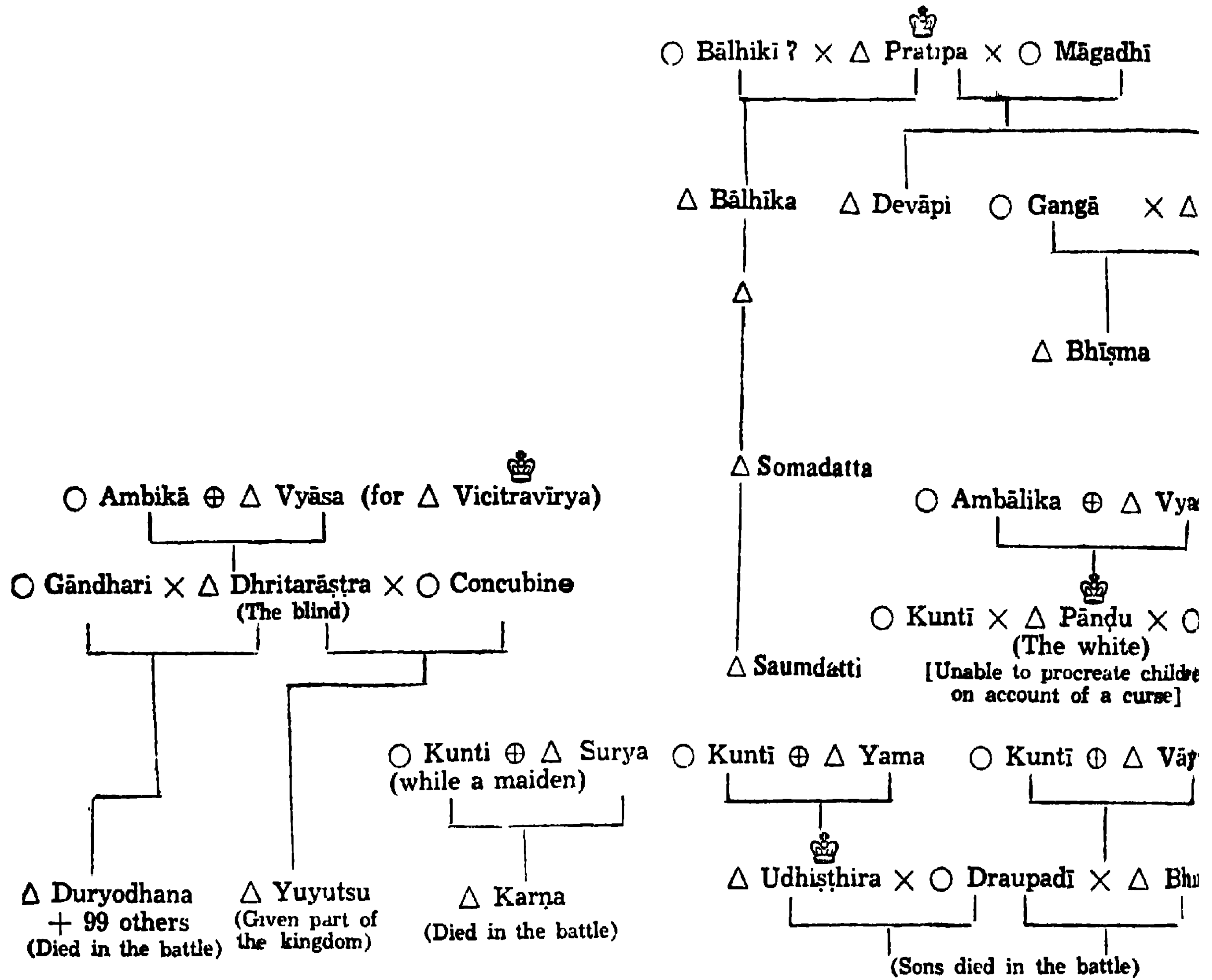
APPENDIX 2

KINSHIP TERMS OF REFERENCE*

1. Father (Fa) Piṭra, Tata, Tāta
2. Father's father (Fa Fa) Pitāmaha, Tatāmaha
3. Father's father's father (Fa Fa Fa) Pra-pitāmaha
4. Mother's father (Mo Fa) Mātāmaha
5. Mother's father's father (Mo Fa Fa) —————
6. Father's brother (Fa Br) Piṭṛ, Tata, Piṭṛvya
7. Mother's brother (Mo Br) Mātula, Māma, Māmaka
8. Mother (Mo) Mātṛ, Ambā, Nanā,
9. Mother's mother (Mo Mo) Mātāmahī
10. Mother's father's mother (Mo Fa Mo) —————
11. Father's mother (Fa Mo) Pitāmahī
12. Father's father's mother (Fa Fa Mo) Pra-pitāmahī
13. Father's sister (Fa Si) Piṭṛsvasṛ
14. Mother's sister (Mo Si) Mātṛsvasṛ
15. Brother (Br) Bhrāṭṛ
16. Father's brother's son (Fa Br So) Bhrāṭṛ
17. Father's sister's son (Fa Si So) Bhrāṭṛ, Piṭṛśvasrīya, Paitṛśvasrīya, Paitṛśvaseya
18. Mother's brother's son (Mo Br So) Bhrāṭṛ
19. Mother's sister's son (Mo Si So) Mātṛśvasrīya
20. Sister (Si) Svasṛ, Bhaginī
21. Father's brother's daughter (Fa Br Da) Svasṛ, Bhaginī
22. Father's sister's daughter (Fa Si Da) Piṭṛśvasrīyā, Svasṛ, Paitṛśvaseyī, Bhaginī
23. Mother's brother's daughter (Mo Br Da) Svasṛ, Bhaginī, Mātulakanyā
24. Mother's sister's daughter (Mo Si Da) Svasṛ, Bhaginī, Mātṛśvaseyā
25. Son (So) Sūnu, Putra, Napṭṛ, Suta
26. Brother's son (man speaking) (Br So) Sūnu, Putra, Suta, Bhrāṭṛvya
27. Brother's son (woman speaking) (Br So) —————
28. Sister's son (man speaking) (Si So) Bhāgineya
29. Sister's son (woman speaking) (Si So) Bhāgineya
30. Son's son (So So) Napṭṛ, Pautra

* For the sake of comparison with terms in other languages, a uniform list is used. A blank indicates that there is no term for that particular kinship.

THE HASTINAPURA DYNASTY FROM KING PRATĪPA :



△ = Male

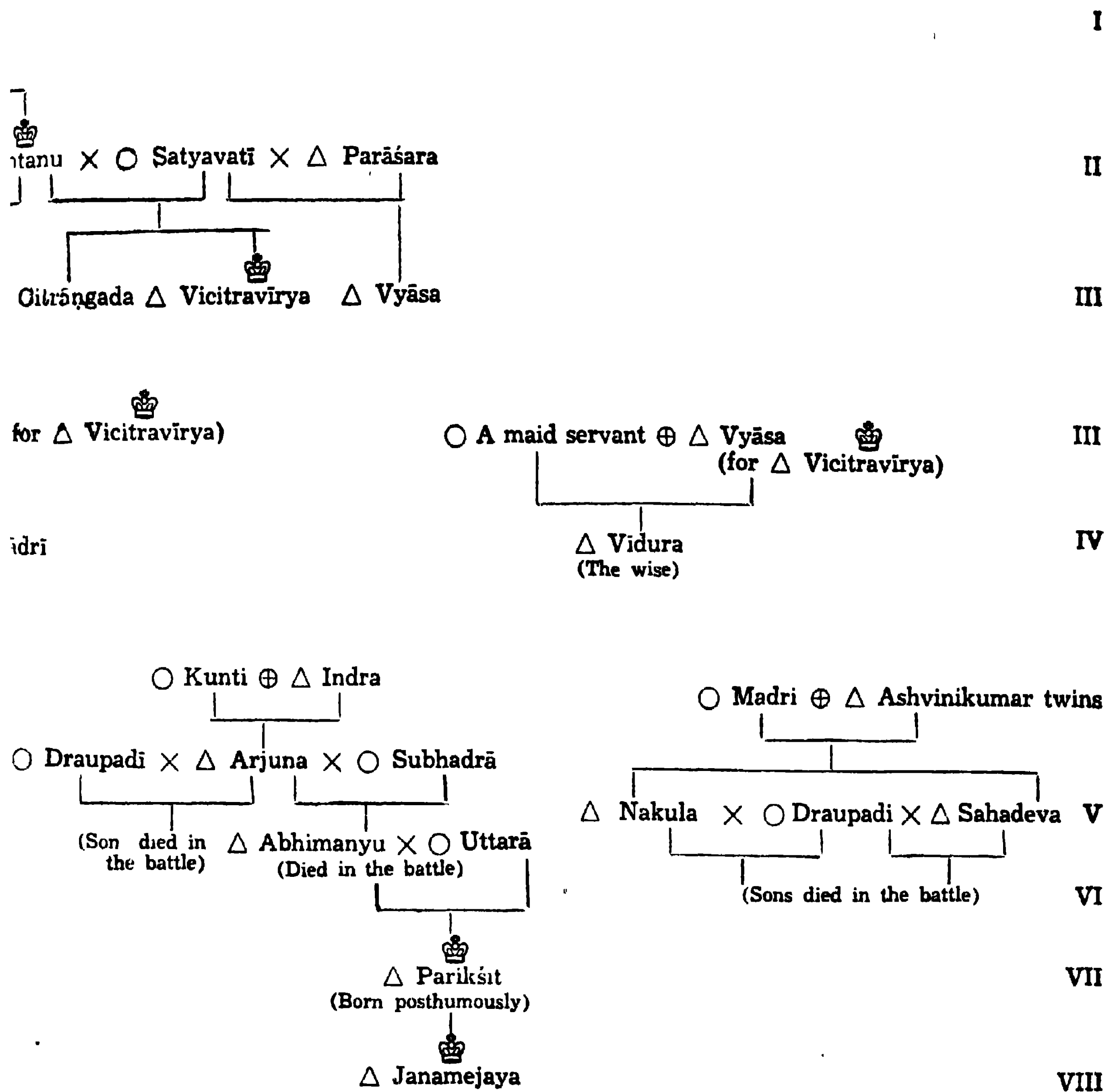
○ = Female

× = Married to

⊕ = Officiating on behalf of the husband for procreation

☐ = Crowned King

KING JANAMEJAYA AS GIVEN IN MAHABHARATA



31. Son's son's son (So So So) Pra-naptṛ, Pra-pautra
32. Daughter's son (Da So) Dauhitra
33. Daughter's son's son (Da So So) _____
34. Daughter's daughter's son (Da Da So) _____
35. Daughter (Da) Duhitṛ, Putrī, Sutā
36. Brother's daughter (man speaking) (Br Da) Duhitṛ, Putrī
Sutā
37. Brother's daughter (woman speaking) (Br Da)
38. Sister's daughter (man speaking) (Si Da) Bhāgineya
39. Sister's daughter (woman speaking) (Si Da) Bhāgineyī
40. Daughter's daughter (Da Da) Dauhitrī
41. Daughter's daughter's daughter (Da Da Da)
42. Daughter's son's daughter (Da So Da) _____
43. Son's daughter (So Da) Naptrī, Pautrī
44. Son's son's daughter (So So Da) Pra-pautrī
45. Father's sister's husband (Fa Si Hu) _____
46. Husband's father (Hu Fa) Śvaśura, Ārya
47. Wife's father (Wi Fa) Śvaśura, Ārya
48. Mother's sister's husband (Mo Si Hu) _____
49. Mother's brother's wife (Mo Br Wi) Mātulānī
50. Father's brother's wife (Fa Br Wi) Mātr, Ambā
51. Husband's mother (Hu Mo) Śvaṣrū, Āryā
52. Wife's mother (Wi Mo) Śvaṣrū, Āryā
53. Husband (Hu) Pati, Bhartr Āryaputra
54. Husband's brother (Hu Br) Devṛ, Devara
55. Wife's brother (Wi Br) Śyāla, Śyālaka, Syāla
56. Sister's husband (man speaking) (Si Hu) Bhaginī-pati.
57. Sister's Husband (woman speaking) (Si Hu) Bhaginī-pati
58. Husband's sister's husband (Hu Si Hu) Ārya, Nanandr-pati
59. Wife's sister's husband (Wi Si Hu) _____
60. Son's wife's father (So Wi Fā) Sambandhin
61. Daughter's husband's father (Da Hu Fa) Sambandhin
62. Wife (Wi) Patnī, Bhāryā, Jāyā
63. Husband's sister (Hu Si) Nanandr, Āryā
64. Wife's sister (Wi Si) Syālikā, Syālī
 - (a) Elder
 - (b) Younger Syālikā
65. Brother's wife (man speaking) (Br Wi) Bhrātrjāyā
66. Brother's wife (woman speaking) (Br Wi) Bhrātr-jāyā
67. Husband's brother's wife (Hu Br Wi) Yātr
 - (a) Husband's elder brother's wife _____
 - (b) Husband's younger brother's wife _____

68. Wife's brother's wife (Wi Br Wi) _____
69. Son's wife's mother (So Wi Mo) Āryā
70. Daughter's husband's mother (Da Mo) _____
71. Daughter's husband (Da Hu) Jāmātr
72. Husband's brother's son (Hu Br So) Suta, Putra
73. Husband's sister's son (Hu Si So) _____
74. Wife's brother's son (Wi Si So) _____
75. Wife's sister's son (Wi Si So) _____
76. Son's wife (So Wi) Snuṣā
77. Husband's brother's daughter (Hu Br Da) _____
78. Husband's sister's daughter (Hu Si Da) _____
79. Wife's brother's daughter (Wi Br Da) _____
80. Wife's sister's daughter (Wi Si Da) _____
81. Father's wife other than ego's mother Sāpatna Mātr
82. Mother's husband other than ego's father _____
82. Co-wife Sapatnī
84. Co-husband _____

A NOTE ON THE USE OF THE WORDS

Pitā, *tata* and *tāta* are found in Sanskrit records from the earliest to the latest period. The word *tata* is used in Vedic hymns but later it is not found. Instead the word *tāta* occurs. The use of the words *tata*, *tāta* is not as frequent as the word *pitā*. *Tāta* seems to be more a mode of address than a mode of reference. Wherever *tāta* is used as a term referring to a relative it always stands for "father". When it is used as address it may stand either for father or for any male relative or acquaintance. *Pitā*, on the other hand, has always conveyed one meaning and that is "father".

The word *pitā* (nominative singular form of the stem *pitṛ*) when used in the plural refers generally to ancestors in the male line. The words *pitā* and *tāta* are used consistently for father's brother throughout the Mahabharata. The Pandava princes never refer to Dhṛtarashtra, their father's brother, by the term *pitṛvya* which one finds in later literature. They refer to him as *pitā* and call him *tāta*. The word *pitā* in its plural form is used once to refer to the brothers and cousins of the father.

The word *pitā* is thus used for all the males in the father's line in the father's generation. That it could not be used for any male of the matri-kin is shown clearly in the story of Kahoda and Asta-

vakra. The boy Astavakra was brought up in the household of his mother's brother because his father had not returned from a journey and was taken for dead. He called his maternal uncle "father" and was told by the latter that he was the *mātula* and not *pitā* and so he set out in search of his father.

Arjuna says that he used to call Bhishma (his father's elder uncle, cf. the genealogy) "father" and was told Bhishma was the *pitāmaha* (the grandfather) and not father.

The word *pitṛvya* occurs but rarely even in later literature.

This usage shows that the kinship term *pitā* was used in a classificatory sense for the "father", the father's brothers and father's cousins. (Father's father's brother's sons). The word *tatāmaha* occurs in the Vedas a few times. The word *pitāmaha* was used for the grandfather and his brothers and cousins. It was further used for any ancestor above the father. Sometimes the expression *pūrvapitāmaha* (ancient grandfather) is used for ancestors.

Prapitāmaha is the father of *pitāmaha* but it too is used generally as meaning ancestors above the *pitāmaha* without any specific reference to a particular generation.

In the Mahabharata no device is used to distinguish one's own father from the father's brothers and cousins. There is nowhere any difficulty in understanding as to who is meant from the context but no attempt is made to indicate it by some special linguistic device. In some R̥gvedic passages however, it seems as if an attempt was made for such a distinction inasmuch as the expression *janitā-pitā* occurs more than once. It means the "birth giving father" and may have been used specifically for the own father to distinguish him from the "status" fathers. The R̥gvedic expressions, however, occur in hymns from the context of which no definite kinship can be established as no genealogical data are available.

Mātula is the word for the mother's brother. Father's brother's wife's brother is also called *mātula*. Thus Duryodhana, the cousin of Sahadeva and Nakula, the youngest of the Pandava princes, addresses their maternal uncle by the term *mātula*. The term *mātula* also seems therefore to be used in a classificatory sense.

The terms *māmaka* and *māma* are not found either in Vedic literature or in the Mahabharata. They are of very frequent occurrence in the story literature of Panchatantra where various beasts address each other as *māmaka*. It means "mother's brother", though it is used in many stories merely as a mode of address for any stranger. It does not seem to be an original Sanskrit term.

Mātā (nominative singular form of *mātr*) and *ambā* for mother are both found from the oldest period in Sanskrit literature. *Mātā* seems to be used more as a term of reference and *ambā* for address, though both may be used in both ways. In the Mahabharata the terms are applied for the own mother as also for the wife of one's father's brother. It is very likely that the terms were used for the wives of all the males whom one called *pitā*. In R̥gveda the expression *janitrī mātā* (birth-giving mother) occurs and may have been used for "own" mother as distinct from step-mother and other classificatory mothers.

The words *pitāmahī* and *mātāmahī* are used respectively for father's mother and mother's mother. Everywhere in Vedic and classical Sanskrit father's sister is mentioned by the descriptive compound word *pitṛ-svasā* (father's sister) and mother's sister by the similarly formed word *mātr-svasā*.

Bhrātr or *bhrātā* is used for one's seminal and uterine brothers as also for the sons of the father's brothers and of the father's cousins. The same term is used with reference to father's sister's son, mother's brother's son and mother's sister's son. Father's sister's son and mother's sister's son are also referred to by descriptive compounds *pitṛ-svasrīya* and *mātr-svasrīya*.*

Sisters and all female cousins are referred to as *svasṛ* or *bhaginī*. *Svasṛ* is an old word while *bhaginī* appears later.

Father's sister's daughter and mother's sister's daughter are referred to sometimes as *pitr-svaseyī* and *mātr-svaseyā* respectively. The daughter of the mother's brother is referred to descriptively as *mātula-kanyā* (the daughter of the mother's brother), especially in later Smṛti literature where the custom of cross-cousin marriage is discussed.

There are three words for son: *putra*, *sūnu* and *naptr*. *Sūnu* is used often in Vedic hymns and though it is found up to the latest period in Sanskrit literature it is less frequently used. *Putra* is found in Vedic hymns but becomes the most frequently used word for "son" in later literature. The word *naptr* is used in the Vedic hymns to mean either a "son" or generally a descendant. In later literature it means son's son and *pra-naptr* means son's son's son, though the words *pautra* and *prapautra* are more frequent. The word *putra* or *suta* is used in the Mahabharata by a man for his

* The word *bhrātrvya* used in later literature for father's brother's son is not found in that sense in either vedic or epic literature. On the other hand, it is used in the sense of "rivalry" or "enmity". The antithesis to *bhrātrvya* is *saubhrātra* (being good brothers).

brother's sons and by a woman for her husband's brother's sons also. In the Mahabharata there are some passages in which one feels that the old king Dhṛtarashtra would well use a word to distinguish between his own and his brother's sons if one were available. The words *putra* and *putraka* were also used for any boy.

The word *suta* is not a kinship term. It means "one who is born". It is, however, used quite often for "son". Sister's son is called *bhāgineya* or *svasrīya*, a descriptive term meaning sister's son or belonging to the sister.

For the daughter's son the word is *dauhitra*. The word *pradauhitra* for daughter's grandson and parallel to the word *prapautra* does not occur.

For daughter the words are *duhitṛ* and *putrī*. The word *putrī* is used for addressing any girl or a woman much younger than the speaker. *Duhitṛ* is the real kinship term and always stands for "the daughter". The same term was presumably used by a man for his brother's daughter and by a woman for her husband's brother's daughter, though I could not get specific instances of this usage. Sister's daughter is referred to by the descriptive term *bhāgineyī* both by a man and woman.

There are a number of terms in Sanskrit for relations by marriage. The terms for the husband of father's sister (*pitṛ-śvasā*) and mother's sister (*mātr-śvasā*) are not found. Possibly these relatives were described as the husband of "so and so". In the Mahabharata there are two cases of such relatives but in neither context does one find a kinship term. Pandu is the husband of the father's sister (Kunti) of Kṛṣṇa, but Kṛṣṇa never refers to the king by a kinship term. In the Aranyaka Parvan is told the story of Nala and Damayanti. Damayanti lived for some time with her mother's sister (*mātr-śvasā*) whose husband was the king Virabahu of Chedi, but in this context too no kinship term occurs. It is possible that the word *ārya*, used for other elder relatives by marriage, was also used for these relatives.

A woman referred to her husband's father and a man to his wife's father by the term *śvaśura*. The term of address was *ārya*. In dual form the word stood for both father-in-law and mother-in-law. The term *śvaśura* was used for brothers and cousins of the spouse's father also. In one place, it is used for the grandfather of the spouse. It seems to have been used for all male relatives who belonged to the generation above that of the spouse.

The term for mother's brother's wife was *mātulanī* and for father's brother's wife *mātā* i.e. the same as for mother.

The terms of reference for the spouse's mother is *śvaṣru* and the term of address is *āryā*. The term for husband is *pati* throughout the whole period under review. The frequency with which the word is used in other contexts, to denote "authority over" or "possession of" something, seems to suggest that the word means "master". *Gṛhapati*, *jāspati* and *viśpati* are all expressions occurring in the R̥gveda. *Gṛhapati* is the master of the house, *jās-pati* is used as a synonym of the word *rājan* and means "the king". *Viś* means "people" and it is also a pronoun meaning 'all'. *Viś-pati* is the master of all, i.e. the king. The Vedic data are very meagre but these words suggest a hierarchical order of control in the ancient Vedic society. *Gṛhapati* was the head of the family, *jās-pati* the head of a group of related families and *viś-pati* was the head of many such groups. The simple word *pati* indicates some type of possessive rights over a woman who is the wife.

The second word used quite often is *bhartā* and means "one who feeds and supports". In classical Sanskrit dramas the word is often used for the master or the king by his servants and so the term, *bhartṛ-dārikā*—the daughter of *bhartā* is used for a princess.

In classical dramas the term *ārya-putra* is often used to refer to or address the husband by the heroines in the dramas. *Ārya-putra* means "the son of *ārya*". We have already explained above that the father-in-law was referred to as *ārya* already in the epic literature. *Ārya-putra* would thus mean the "son of the father-in-law".

Husband's brother, older or younger, is called *devara** or *devṛ*, and wife's brother is *śyāla* or *śyālaka*. Sister's husband is referred to by the descriptive term *bhaginī-pati*—"the husband of the sister".

Husband's sister's husband is referred to as *ārya*. No word is found for the husband of wife's sister. The term *Nanāndrapati* (husband of husband's sister) is used occasionally in later literature. The term *ārya* is used to refer to that individual.

Son's wife's father and daughter's husband's father are called by the term *sambandhin*. Two men whose children marry each other are *sambandhin* of each other. When a marriage is arranged between two families all the males of one family are in a sense *sambandhin* to those of the other. *Sambandhin* means "somebody

* I had argued that the word *devara* was used for husband's younger brother only, but a review of the material does not seem to warrant that assertion; The problem remains unsolved in the face of certain usages and sentiments expressed in literature from time to time.

who is bound together". The word *sambandha* is used in literature for the marriage connection.

Among women relations by marriage the wife stands first. There are different words for wife. *Patnī* is the feminine of *pati*. The word *pati* means the "ruler". The word *patnī* does not seem to have that connotation in numerous references in Sanskrit literature where it must be translated simply as "wife". But certain early references and certain practices suggest that *patnī* denotes a definite status. *Patnī* shared in the household responsibilities and the ritual duties of the *pati*. In the marriage hymn of Ṛgveda we have the expression "May you be '*Gṛhapatnī*'". The bride should become not only the wife of one individual but become the "first lady" of the household, *gṛhapatnī*, who is the partner of her husband in all ritual. In a polygamous household *gṛhapatnī* was possibly the first and the eldest wife. In a joint household she was apparently the eldest wife of the eldest male. The Indian grammarian Panini (7th Century B.C.) enunciates the rule that the feminine of the word *patī* can be effected by suffixing the syllable *nī* only when the wife takes part with the husband in the performance of a sacrifice (*yajña*). The early expression *gṛhapatnī* and the later expression *dharmapatnī* may well refer to this ritual function of a wife. Among Hindus there are two types of ritual, that which refers to the usual happenings in the family, birth, death, marriage, puberty, the daily meals, etc., and that which refers to the great sacrifices which a man may or may not undertake. For both of these it was necessary that a man and wife acted together. A widower could not perform most of these religious acts. A man's first wife was the one who acted with him on these occasions and was the *patnī*.*

The word *jāyā* is used also for wife and it is one of the oldest words in Sanskrit. The word *jāyā* possibly has a reference to the function of the woman as bearer of children. The word *bhāryā* means "one who must be supported—fed and clothed", and points out the least that society expected a man to do for his wife.

The word for the husband's sister is *nanāndṛ* ("the giver of joy") which is an obvious euphemism for the very strained relations which always existed between sisters-in-law. The word *śyālikā* (wife's sister) is given in the dictionary, but is not found either in the epics or in the later literature. Husband's brother's wife is *yātr*. It is apparently an old pre-Paninian word but it is

* *Patyur no yajñasamyoge*, PANINI, 4.1.33. I am indebted to Dr. S. M. KATRE for drawing my attention to this definition.

not found in any early literature.

Brother's wife is called *bhrātrjāyā* (brother's wife) and the term is used both by men and women.

Son's wife's mother and daughter's husband's mother are referred to as *āryā*. Very possibly the word *sambandhinī*, the feminine form of the word *sambandhin*, was also used occasionally.

The daughter's husband is *jāmātr*. The term was used for the husband of the brother's daughter also.

Husband's brother's son is called *sūnu* or *putra*, the same as own son.

For son's wife the old word is *snuṣā* used in all periods of the Sanskrit literature. The other word *vadhū* is used for "bride" in earlier literature and used for wife, daughter-in-law or bride in later literature. *Vidhū-jana* is used for the married women of a house. These are all born in other families and are brought as brides into the house. The expression is used in contrast to the word *kanyā*, the "daughters" of a house.*

Saptnī is the word used for the co-wife. Though polyandry is indicated, no special word is used for co-husbands.

Most of the words used in the modern north-Indian languages are derived from these words. A few new words are added, a new connotation is given to some old ones and a few have dropped out in certain languages. This list together with the kinship terms found in Pali and Ardhamagadhi given below will help readers to understand modern terms as also the way modern terms are used.

APPENDIX 3

KINSHIP TERMS IN PALI AND ARDHAMAGADHI

Kinship terms found in Pali and Ardhamagadhi languages are given below. They are very useful for the understanding of some kinship terms in the modern Indian languages. I am not in a posi-

* The word *kanyā* has an older form *kanī*. It means a little girl living in her father's house. *Kan* possibly means originally "small". It is not a kinship term.

Vadhū is derived from the root *vaha* = to carry and has led to a lot of speculation as regards an ancient custom of marriage by capture. Nowhere in Sanskrit literature has *vaha* the meaning of capture. It simply means transport from one place to another. A *vadhū* is always taken from her father's house (where the marriage ceremony takes place) to her husband's house. So she is a *vadhū* as against *kanyā* who is living in a house.

tion to deal at length with the kinship organization as found in Pali and Ardhamagadhi literature. The Pali literature gives an account of the genealogy of Buddha which is not found in the Sanskrit account. It deals mostly with stories which are placed in the central and eastern Gangetic plain and records marriages of cross-cousins.* Most of the terms and their use, however, are like those in Sanskrit. Pali literature records many marriages between brothers and sisters.

The Ardhamagadhi literature of the Jaina records old Puranic stories but the genealogical sequences are not the same as those found in the Sanskrit books. It records many cross-cousin marriages in its literature which depicts stories of western India (central zone) and of the eastern Gangetic plain. It records of an ancient period where part of the world was peopled by twins who married each other. The most famous of these twins were the king Nabhi and his wife and twin sister Marudevā or Marudevī, who gave birth to the holy Tirthankara Rshabha.

This story is of great interest culturally. It appears in Vasudevahindi† which is supposed to have been composed in the medieval period (about 600 A.D.) The story is found also in Paumacariya,‡ an older poem of about the 1st century B.C. or A.D. The importance of this story consists in the fact that Pehlavi sources also tell of a mythological age in Persia where twins were born of married twins.**

The Yama-Yami story is told in the same context. We have seen that the story is also found in a later book of the R̥gveda. There is thus a common story told in three languages and though it has no significance from the point of view of kinship organization of the ancients, it is of importance for tracing cultural connections between Persia and India.

Ardhamagadhi has *mihunaga* and *mihuniyā*, two works which have a kinship connotation. The words are derived from the Sanskrit word *mithuna* meaning "pair". In Ardhamagadhi the exact meaning of the word cannot be fixed from the context. It may mean wife's sister or a cross-cousin or wife's brother. This word is of importance as it is found in Marathi, Kannada and

* For example Nandiya married his mother's brother's daughter Revati. Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 30, p. 92.

† *Vasudevahindi*, published by Bhavnagar Shri-Jain Atmananda Sabha, 1930.

‡ *Paumacariya* by Vimal Suri, published by Jain Dharma Prasarak Sabha, Bhavnagar 1914.

** Sacred books of the East, Vol. XVIII, Pehlavi Texts, Vol. II.

Tamil. It is explained in the various contexts at the proper place.

KINSHIP TERMS OF REFERENCE

	<i>PALI</i>	<i>ARDHAMAGADHI</i>
1. Fa	Pitā, Tāta	Piyā, Tāya
2. Fa-Fa	Ayyaka, Pitāmaha	Piyāmaha, Ayyaga
3. Fa-Fa-Fa		
4. Mo-Fa	Ayyaka	Māyāmaha
5. Mo-Fa-Fa		
6. Fa-Br		Culla-piu
(a) Elder	Mahā-Pitā	
(b) Younger		
7. Mo-Br	Mātulo	Māulaga, Māula, Māmā
(a) Elder		
(b) Younger		
8. Mo	Mātā, Ammā	Māyā, Māī, Māi, Amma, Ammagī
9. Mo-Mo	Mātāmahī, Ayyakā	
10. Mo-Fa-Mo		
11. Fa-Mo	Ayyakā, Ayyakānī	Ajjiā
12. Fa-Fa-Mo		
13. Fa-Si	Pitucchā	Piucchā
(a) Elder		
(b) Younger		
14. Mo-Si	Mātucchā	Māucchā
(a) Elder		
(b) Younger		
15. Br	Bhātā	Bhāu, Bhāyā
(a) Elder		
(b) Younger		
16. Fa-Br-So		Bhāu
(a) Older than ego		
(b) Younger than ego		
17. Fa-Si-So		Mehuṇaya (?)
(a) Older than ego		
(b) Younger than ego		

	<i>PALI</i>	<i>ARDHAMAGADHI</i>
18. Mo-Br-So (a) Older than ego (b) Younger than ego		Mehuṇaya
19. Mo-Si-So (a) Older than ego (b) Younger than ego		
20. Si (a) Older than ego (b) Younger than ego	Bhagini	Bahinī, Sasā, Bhaginī
21. Fa-Br-Da (a) Older than ego (b) Younger than ego		Bhaginī
22. Fa-Si-Da (a) Older than ego (b) Younger than ego		
23. Mo-Br-Da (a) Older than ego (b) Younger than ego		Mehuṇiyā
24. Mo-Si-Da (a) Older than ego (b) Younger than ego		
25. So	Putto, Puttako	Putta
26. Br-So (man speaking)		
27. Br-So (woman speaking)		

	<i>PALI</i>	<i>ARDHAMAGADHI</i>
28. Si-So (man speaking)	Bhāgineyyo	Bhaiṇejja, Bhaiṇijja
29. Si-So (woman speaking)	Bhāgineyyo	Bhaiṇejja, Bhaiṇijja
30. So-So	Natto	Nattua
31. So-So-So		
32. Da-So	Natto	
33. Da-So-So		
34. Da-Da-So		
35. Da	Dhītā, Dhītikā	Dhūyā, Duhiyā
36. Br-Da (man speaking)		
37. Br-Da (woman speaking)		
38. Si-Da (man speaking)		Bhaiṇīdhūyā, Bhaiṇejjā
39. Si-Da (woman speaking)		
40. Da-Da		
41. Da-Da-Da		
42. Da-So-Da		
43. So-Da		
44. So-So-Da		
45. Fa-Si-Hu		
46. Hu-Fa	Sasuro	Sasura
47. Wi-Fa	Sasuro	Sasura, Māma Māmaga
48. Mo-Si-Hu		
49. Mo-Br-Wi	Mātulānī	Māulanī, Māmī
50. Fa-Br-Wi		
51. Hu-Mo	Sassū	Sāsū, Piucchā
52. Wi-Mo	Sassū	Sāsū, Māulanī
53. Hu	Sāmī, Pati	Pai, Bhattāra
54. Hu-Br	Devaro	Devaro
(a) Elder		
(b) Younger		
55. Wi-Br	Sālo	Sāla
(a) Elder		
(b) Younger		
56. Si-Hu (man speaking)		Mehuṇaga (?)

	<i>PALI</i>	<i>ARDHAMAGADHI</i>
(a) Elder sister's husband		
(b) Younger sister's husband		
57. Si-Hu (woman speaking)		Mehuṇaga
(a) Elder sister's husband		
(b) Younger sister's husband		
58. Hu-Si-Hu		
59. Wi-Si-Hu		
60. So-Wi-Fa		
61. Da-Hu-Fa		
62. Wi	Bhariyā	Bhajjā, Geheṇī
63. Hu-Si	Nanandā	
(a) Elder		
(b) Younger		
64. Wi-Si		Mehuṇīyā
(a) Elder		
(b) Younger		
65. Br-Wi (man speaking)		Bhāujjā, Bhāujjaiyā
(a) Elder bro- ther's wife		
(b) Younger brother's wife		
66. Br-Wi (woman speaking)		Suṇhā Bhāujjā
(a) Elder bro- ther's wife		
(b) Younger brother's wife		

	<i>PALI</i>	<i>ARDHAMAGADHI</i>
67. Hu-Br-Wi (a) Husband's elder brother's wife (b) Husband's younger brother's wife		
68. Wi-Br-Wi		
69. So-Wi-Mo		
70. Da-Hu-Mo		
71. Da-Hu	Jāmātā	Jāmāya
72. Hu-Br-So		
73. Hu-Si-So		
74. Wi-Br-So		
75. Wi-Si-So		
76. So-Wi	Suṇisā, Husā, Suṇhā	Suṇhā, Hṇuṣā
77. Hu-Br -Da		
78. Hu-Si-Da		
79. Wi-Br-Da		
80. Wi-Si-Da		
81. Father's wife other than ego's mother		Culla-māu
82. Mother's husband other than ego's father		
83. Co-wife	Sapattī	Savattī
84. Co-husband		

CHAPTER III

KINSHIP ORGANIZATION OF THE NORTHERN ZONE

THE PRESENT

The northern zone comprises that part of India which lies between the Himalayas to the north and the Vindhya ranges to the south. Linguistically it is the northern half of the language-area where languages derived from Sanskrit are spoken by a large majority of the people. The States (Administrative units) included in this area are: Sind (now a part of West Pakistan), Punjab (West Punjab is now part of West Pakistan), Kashmir, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, part of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, Assam and the independent kingdom of Nepal. The languages spoken are Sindhi, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Hindi, Bihari, Bengali, Assami and Nepali. In the northern portions of Uttar Pradesh, the people of the Himalayan foothills speak Pahadi which differs slightly from Hindi. Similarly Bihari also differs from Hindi to a very small extent.

These linguistic regions differ from one another in many aspects of social organization and culture. Sind and the Punjab are near the former north-western frontiers of India and had to face many foreign invasions and came in intensive contact with outside cultures. In Sind the Hindu society was represented only by two main classes, the Brahmins—a very unimportant minority and the trading castes of Amil and Bhaiband.¹ Most of the other castes of agriculturists, artisans and village servants became Muslim converts in Sind. It would be interesting to find out how far they have changed the old kinship structure after conversion, but the present study is not concerned with that problem. Sind (before partition) showed certain peculiarities as regards marriage customs. A considerable number of girls remained unmarried in Sind because the dowry demanded by the groom's people was exorbitant.

While Sind represents culturally a province which succumbed in a large measure to the proselytizing pressure of the Muslims, the Punjab represents a province where the struggle between religions, cultures and communities was bitter and undecided. The Kushans, the Bactrians and Shakas in their turn passed into India

through this province and founded kingdoms and empires. These earlier immigrants were Hinduised and took up Indian languages, but the Muslims remained to a large extent an unassimilated element and evoked retaliation in the Hindu population. The religion of the Sikhs is a type of militant Hinduism which fought with the Muslims on political and cultural grounds while taking some of the features of their religion. Western Punjab was predominantly Muslim and was incorporated into Pakistan. Eastern Punjab is Sikh and Hindu and what was formerly a three cornered fight has now become a struggle between the Sikhs and Hindus for political supremacy. The Sikhs have in principle no caste structure though social classes on caste lines do exist. They follow most of the Hindu customs as regards marriage and family organization. Among the Hindus there are the usual types of castes. The Brahmins are a minority. The Khattris are also a minority, but represent an enterprising section of population formerly engaged in trade and now taking to professions also. The Brahma-Kshatriya of Gujarat, the Khatri of Bombay and Brahma-Kshatriya of Hyderabad (Deccan) are very probably branches of this same community. The Jats (both Hindu and Sikh sections) are very hard-working peasant proprietors. Gujars represent a once powerful tribe of Asiatic conquerors now settled in agricultural pursuits.² Besides these there are small artisan and the depressed castes. There is a substantial minority of Rajputs in the Punjab as also in U.P. and Bihar. These Rajputs have a clan organization which will be described later.

U.P., though governed by Muslim rulers for over six hundred years, represents a province which is culturally the stronghold of Hindu orthodoxy. Mathura, the city sacred to Shri Kṛṣṇa, is on its western boundary, Ayodhya (Audh) the city of Shri Rama is on its eastern boundary. In its Himalayan districts of the north are situated Kedareshwar and Badrinath, shrines of Shiva and Vishnu, and its heart is Kashi (Varanashi or Banaras) which is the most sacred place of pilgrimage for all Hindus. The distribution of castes in many regions is affected by this fact. In the villages near the sacred places there are always a great number of Brahmins. Near Prayag (Allahabad), where thousands of people go every year to strew the ashes of their dead in the confluence of Ganga (Ganges) and Yamuna (Jamna), the villages are full of the Malla caste who are hereditary boatmen and of Mahabrahmans who are a sub-sect of Brahmins of a rather low status, who officiate at funerary rites. Halwai, the caste of sweetmeat vendors, is also

very important and necessary near all the temple cities. They sell sweetmeats and also some types of foods eaten by all castes. The most advanced castes of this region from the point of view of Western education are the Kayasthas and Kashmiri Brahmins. They however used to speak and write Urdu, have taken up many Muslim customs and generally do not share the cultural and religious life of this region.

The Kayastha is a very interesting community. It is first mentioned in Sanskrit literature a little after the Christian era. Its members became famous as hereditary writers, accountants and revenue officers. They are found in all the states but have predominated the cultural life of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. In Bengal, the late medieval ruling houses were Kayastha.³ They were very closely connected with the Mughal Court and some Delhi Kayastha follow Muslim customs in their marriage ceremonies. They have taken to English education and have distinguished themselves as lawyers, doctors, engineers, educationists and men of literature and science. The rest of the Hindu population is very orthodox. The majority is illiterate but can recite from the Ramayana of Tulsidas and the women know by heart hundreds of devotional songs and stories. It would be very interesting to study the mode of transmission of cultural traits among this type of people. A peculiarity of U.P. is the enormous number of people who are called Dom or Chamar. According to their hereditary occupation they are workers in leather but they are also landless labourers on fields. They form quite 40 per cent of the whole population. Koiri, Dusad, Dhanak, Kurmi are other castes engaged in agricultural work. Gwals are cowherds and enjoy a higher status.

Bihar in many respects is a continuation of U.P. At the present day it is also orthodox Hindu in its outlook. It is the land in which all the schisms in Hinduism originated.⁴ While the Punjab and U.P. are lands best known to the Vedic and Puranic tradition, Bihar became the centre of nascent Brahmanism in the post-Puranic period. Bihar is made up of two ancient kingdoms. The part lying to the north of the river Ganga was the ancient Videha, a land famed for its philosophical and religious kings and the land of the best beloved figure of antiquity, the princess Sita, wife of Shri Rama. The land to the south of the Ganga was the land of ancient Magadha outside the pale of orthodox Brahmanism. Even today in the popular mind the distinction remains. Patna, the capital of Bihar, is situated on the south bank of the Ganga and

is the site of the famous city of Pataliputra, the capital of Chandragupta Maurya. I have had the occasion to cross the river to go to north Bihar for anthropological work and was surprised to find crowds crossing the river in all types of river craft. On enquiry I was told that it was a sacred day and people were going to the northern side to have a dip in the holy river. I enquired further in astonishment as to why the people did not bathe at Patna which is right on the Ganga and had beautiful bathing places. In accents full of pity for my ignorance, my informant told me that the southern bank was the cursed land of Magadha and no religious merit could be got if one bathed in Magadha and so thousands of people were crossing over to the other bank. Old traditions die hard or not at all in India. Indians are said to have no historical sense and have not left neat historical records; but they live all their history with all its complications, sublimely unconscious of any need to change.

Bihar is also the land in which non-Aryan primitive people must have been taken into Hinduism. A large number still remains to-day as jungle tribes. But it has the usual complement of the other Hindu castes.

Bengal and Assam are situated on the north-eastern frontier of India. The people speaking Sanskritic languages reached Bengal very late but it became a strong-hold of orthodox Hinduism in the medieval and modern times. During the rise and spread of Buddhism in India, Bengal became well-known for its ports and sea-trade. In the post-Buddhistic period Kalidasa mentions the Anga (a kingdom in Bengal) as equipped with boats.⁷ The Bengali population speaking the Bengali language, except for the Santhals in the west, appears as a solid block of people speaking a Sanskritic language wedged in between numerous tribal people speaking Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman languages. Underneath this linguistic unity may be hidden cultural traits of diverse ethnic origins. As regards kinship organization and kinship behaviour it seems to be fairly uniform among the Bengal castes. The investigation is complicated by the fact that almost half of the people speaking the Bengali language have been converted to Islam. The relative numerical strength of the various castes among the Hindus is very peculiar in this region. The Brahmin and Kayastha population in U.P., Bihar and Orissa is between 7 and 10 per cent of the Hindu population. In the whole of Bengal it is 14 per cent. In East Bengal the proportion goes up to over 50 per cent in certain districts. The Kayastha are a small minority in all other

regions (less than 2 per cent), while in Bengal they are from 6 per cent to 28 per cent in different districts.⁶ This predominance of higher literate castes gives a certain uniformity to Bengali kinship usages. Widow-remarriage which is prevalent in the lower castes in the other regions is almost unknown in Bengal. In other regions the influence of the lower castes in forming the kinship pattern is great, while in Bengal it is negligible. The picture of the Hindu population is analogous to that in Sind. In Sind the Hindus gradually lost their script and used the Urdu script to write a Sanskritic language. In Bengal both the Hindus and Muslims spoke and wrote Bengali and Bengal Muslims have a very large share in the creation of Bengali literature. What happened to the tribal populations in Bengal is a question of great interest to cultural anthropologists. Bengal is a rice-cultivating region. Did the cultivators represent the ancient tribal people and were they completely taken up as lower strata into the Hindu caste system? The lower castes were the people converted later to Islam. Have they retained any of their Hindu or tribal practices after conversion? These are problems awaiting investigation. Many folk-festivals in Bengal seem to have analogies with the festivals of the tribal people but to my knowledge no one has yet investigated the kinship organization of these people.⁷ It is probable that one may find traces of tribal practices among them. In this book the kinship terms as used in Bengali are given and the kinship practices wherever referred to are those of the higher castes. They show that Bengal conforms to the pattern of the other regions in this zone.

The Assami kinship terms and practices are like those in Bengal, but besides the Hindu population, Assam has a large number of primitive tribes which follow to a considerable extent their own tribal pattern of kinship behaviour and speak their tribal languages. The kinship organization of one tribe is described in the sketch given for the eastern zone.

A comparison and explanation of the various kinship terms used in the linguistic regions of the northern zone is very helpful towards the understanding of the pattern of behaviour and the kinship structure. The kinship terms in various languages as collected from the people in different regions are given in Appendix 1 of this chapter.*

* The terms were again examined when preparing the second edition of the book. It was found that Hindi, Nepali, Bihari and other northern informants sometimes gave slightly different terms in place of those recorded. The

NOTES ON THE USE OF THE WORDS

The words for father are (1) *pitā*, *piu*, (2) *bāpa*, *bāpū*, *bābū*, *bābā* and *bābo*.

Pitā is the same as the nominative singular of Sanskrit *pitṛ*; *piu* is the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word *pitṛ*. It is the custom, especially in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, to add the suffix *jī* to kinship terms used for people older than the speaker. We have thus *pitājī*, *babujī*, etc. In Bengal the title *mośāy* (Sanskrit — *mahāśaya* = the high souled one, the honoured one) is added after the kinship term instead of *jī*.

The terms *bāpa*, *bābā*, *bāpū* and *bābū* do not appear to be of Sanskrit origin. They all seem to be derived from the term *bāppā* which seems to have originated first in Rajputana and Gujarat about the 7th or 8th century A.D. One of the early chiefs of a Rajput clan is called Bappa Rawal. The forms *bāpa*, *bāpū*, *bābā* and *bābū* are found all over northern India and seem to have replaced the more ancient *pitā* and *piu*.

The word for father's father is *dādā* or *daddā*.⁸ Father's grandfather is *par-daddā*, mother's grandfather is *par-nānā*. The prefix *par* or *paḍ* (representing the Sanskrit prefix 'pra') is used for various relationships as we shall see further, in the northern and central zones.

The words for mother are *mā*, *ammā*, *māī*, *aiyā* and *āī*. *Mā* and *māī* are derived from Sanskrit *mātṛ*, *ammā* from Sanskrit *ambā*, *aiyā* and *āī* from Sanskrit *āryā*. *Mā* and *ammā* are far more common than *aiyā* or *āī*.

Father's mother is *dādī*, mother's mother is *nānī*. Father's father's mother is *par-dādī* and mother's father's mother is *par-nānī*. The term *nāne* and *nānā* for older relatives on the mother's side may have a Sanskrit origin. In one R̥gveda hymn the mother is mentioned as *nānā*.

The Bengali words *ṭhākur-dā* and *ṭhākur-mā* for father's father and mother have reference to the position of these two in a joint family. The grandfather and grandmother are the chief persons who wield much power and exact respect from all members of the family. *Thakur* is the term used for a chief or a ruler. *Thakur-dā* and *-mā* are the "chief father" and "mother".⁹

Father's elder brother is *tāu* or *taiā*, *patriyā* or *jeṭhā-mośāy*; the differences may be due to some mistakes in the old lists which were compiled by the author through personal enquiry. They may also be due to differences in the linguistic usages of different castes or different sub-regions.

father's younger brother is *cācā*, *kākā* or *khudā*. *Tāu* and *taiā* are derived from Sanskrit *tāta* = father. *Patriyā* seems to be derived from *pitṛvya*. *Jyeṣṭha* = the eldest, *mahāśaya* = a great man; *jeṭhā mośāy* thus merely means "the respected elder" (brother of the father). The words *cācā* and *kākā* are supposed to be non-Aryan words of Turkish origin. They are not found in early literature at all. *Khudā* is derived from the Sanskrit word *kṣudra* = small, which becomes *khudda* and *culla* in Pali and Prakṛt. *Khudā* thus really stands for *khudda tāu* = the little father. *Tāu* is dropped and only *khudā* remains.

As we saw, Sanskrit had no independent words for the relation "father's brother", younger or older. Modern northern Indian languages of Sanskrit origin have such words and they are either derived from Sanskrit words meaning 'father' or are apparently borrowed from some non-Sanskritic source.

The wives of the above kinsmen are called *tāi*, *jeṭhī-mā*, *cācī*, *kākī* or *khudī*, all the words being feminine forms of the words used for the male kinsmen.

Father's sister is *phuvā* or *bhuvā*, *phuphī*, *pufī* or *phuphī*, *pivaśī* or *piśī-mā*. All these words are traced back to Sanskrit *pitṛ-śvasā* which becomes Prakrit *piucchā*. Her husband is *phuphā* or *phuphar* or *piśī-mośāy*.¹⁰ Mother's brother is *māmā* or *mammā*, his wife is *māmī*, *mamī-mā*, *mammī* or *māmin*.

There are words in the Punjabi language which differ from the universal *māmā*. These words are *malver-bhāi* (mother's brother's son), *malver bhain* (mother's brother's daughter), *maliauhṛā* (spouse's mother's brother) and *malhaes* (spouse's mother's brother's wife). In all these compound words there is a word *mala* or *māla* which means mother's brother which cannot be derived from any Sanskrit word. In the same way, besides the usual *māmī* and *mammī* there is a word *māvin* for mother's brother's wife which is also hard to explain.¹¹

Mother's sister is *māsī*, *māusi*, *māśī-mā*; her husband is *māusā* or *māśī-mośāy*. The word *māsī* or *māusi* is generally derived from *mātr-śvasā* through Prakṛt *māucchā*.¹²

The brother is referred to as *bhāi* or *bhaiyā*, the elder brother is sometimes called *dādā* or *dādo*. In folk-songs the brother is referred to as *bīr* (Sanskrit *vīra* — "the valorous one") and is depicted as the champion of his sister. The word however is never used in everyday language. *Mājāya bhāi* is the brother who is the son of the own mother i.e. uterine brother. In a polygynous household children of one mother have closer ties.

The word for sister is *bhañ*, *bon*, *behan* or *behen*. The elder sister is sometimes called *didī* or *jijī*. The words *bhāī* and *behen* go back to the Sanskrit *bhrātṛ* and *bhaginī*. The older word *svasṛ* seems to have disappeared in the modern languages except as part of the words *māśī* and *pivaśī* given above.

The children of uncles and aunts are also called *bhāī* and *behen*, and there are prefixes to these words to show the exact relationship with the speaker. *Jeṭh-tuto bhāī*, *khud-tuto bhaī*, *pitiaut bhāī*, *cecerā bhāī* or *behen* means brother or sister who is the child of father's elder or younger brother. In the same way *phūpherā*, *mamerā*, *mauserā bhāī* and *phupherī*, *mamerī*, *mauserī behen* mean brother or sister who is the child of *phuphī* (father's sister), *māmā* (mother's brother) and *mausī* (mother's sister).

The words for son are *pūt* (Sanskrit *putra*), *chele*, *beṭā* and *larḍā*; for the daughter *dhī*¹³ (Sanskrit *duhitṛ*), *meye*, *beṭī*, *larḍī*, *niānī*. The derivation of these words is not known to me. The words for brother's son and daughter are *bhatījā*, *bhatījī*; for sister's son and daughter they are *bhañejā*, *bhāñejā* (born of the sister). These words do not change according to the sex of the speaker.

In all these words the general structure of the kinship terms is the same as in Sanskrit, except that brother's son and daughter (man speaking), though called by the same term as own son and daughter in Sanskrit, are called *bhatījā* and *bhatījī* in the modern north Indian languages. In Sindhi a different term is used viz. *soto* or *sautu* and the relationship existing between the children of two brothers is referred to as *sautī*. The word seems to be derived from the Sanskrit word *sapatna* = a rival, and reflects the age-long rivalry for inheritance and succession between brothers' children as depicted in Mahabharata.

For son's son and daughter and son's grandson and grand-daughter the words are of Sanskritic origin as also are those for daughter's son and daughter and daughter's grandson and grand-daughter. They are *potā*, *par-potā*, *poṭī*, *parpoṭī*, *dota*, *pardota* and *dotī*, *pardotī*. The Bengali words *nātī* and *natnī* for grandson and grand-daughter are derived like the Marathi words *nātū* and *nāta* from the Sanskrit word *napṭṛ* (nom. sing. *napāt*) which is used in the early Sanskrit period for a son, and later for a grand-child.

Among relations by marriage we have already dealt with the words for uncles and aunts by marriage (*phuphā*, *māusā*, and *cācī* or *tāī* and *māmī*). For husband the words are *patī* (used in song

and literature but not in every-day speech), *bhatār* (Sanskrit *bhartr*), *shāmī* (Sanskrit-*svāmī*), *gharwāī* (equivalent to Sanskrit *grhapati*) and the peculiar word *ogo* in Bengali.¹⁴

The words for wife are *boh*, *boū*, *vahū* (Sanskrit *vadhū*), *gharrū*, *strī*; a host of other words, also derived from Sanskrit, are used in literature and folk songs which need not be given here.

There are generally different words for a groom and a bride. The most general are *vara* or *bara*, *dulhā* and *banrā* for groom; and *bahū*, *dulhan* and *banrī* for bride.

Husband's sister is always *nanad*, her husband is *nandoī* (Sanskrit- *nanādr* and *nanāndr-pati*; Prakṛt—*naṇanda* + *vaī* = *nandoī*).

Husband's father and wife's father is *sasur* and *sasur's* wife (mother-in-law) is *sās*, from Sanskrit *śvaśura* and *śvaṣru*. Husband's elder brother is *jeṭha* (Sanskrit *jyeṣṭha* = the eldest), his wife is *jeṭhānī*. This is a new kinship term not found in Sanskrit.

Husband's younger brother is *devar* and his wife is *devarānī* from Sanskrit *devr*. The standard of behaviour in North India necessitates a sharp distinction between these two relations and their wives. The elder brother of the husband is a tabooed relation for a woman. She must not speak to him or show her face to him. He is to her as a father-in-law. This behaviour pattern is reflected in the alternative words used by a woman for her husband's elder brother. The word is *bhāśur* derived from Sanskrit *bhratr* (brother) and *śvaśura* (father-in-law), and means "the brother (of the husband) who is like the father-in-law". In Punjabi the word *der* is used both for the elder and the younger brother of the husband but the elder is called *waddā-der* i.e. the elder *der* and the younger is called *nikkā-der* i.e. the *der* whom a widow can marry. In the same way (a man's) elder brother's wife is called *bhābhī* or *bhāujī* (see below for the use of these terms) and the younger brother's wife is called *bhāyāhū* (Sanskrit *bhratr* + *vadhū* i.e. one who is the younger brother's wife and is like a daughter-in-law. The word *vadhū* is used for own wife as also for son's wife. In this context it has the latter meaning).

There is also a general word for husband's brother's wife or for wives of brothers. It is *gotanī* or *jā*, a woman of the same *got*. *Jā* seems to be derived from the late Sanskrit *yātr*. The children of husband's brothers are called *jeṭhut*, *derut*, *bhāśurpo*, *deurpo* (son of *jeṭh* and *devar*) or *jethatī*, *deratī* (daughter of *jeṭh* or *devar*). There are also the words *jeut* and *jāydhī* in Bihari which seem to be derived from Sanskrit *yātr* + *putra* and *yātr* + *duhitṛ*

i.e. the son or daughter of *yātr*, the wife of the husband's brother.

The elder sister's husband is *bahanoī* (Sanskrit *bhaginī* + *pati*) or *jijā* (masculine form of the word *jijī* for elder sister) or *pāhunā* (Sanskrit *prāghurṇaka* = a guest). Younger sister's husband is referred to as *bahinjamāī* (literally "sister-son-in-law" i.e. son-in-law through the sister).

Brother's son and daughter are *bhatijā*, *bhāipo* and *bhatijhī* and *bhāijhī*. The sister's son and daughter are *bhāujā* or *bhagnā* and *bhāujhī* or *bhagnī*.

Daughter's husband is *jamāī* (Sanskrit *jāmātr*). Son's wife is *vahū* or *bohū* in Hindi, Bihari, Bengali and Assami (Sanskrit *vadhū*), and *ṇhū* or *nuhā* in Punjabi and Sindhi (Sanskrit *snusā*). In Sanskrit the word *vadhū* is used in older literature for the bride, in later literature it is used for the woman brought into a family by marriage and is used sometimes for the daughter-in-law and sometimes for wife. The same indefiniteness in meaning attaches to the word *vahū* in modern Indian languages. Sometimes the word *patoh* (Sanskrit *putra-vadhū* = wife of the son) is used for the daughter-in-law. *Snusā* is a very ancient word and was used throughout in the Sanskrit literature as also in the Prakṛt literature as has been seen from the Pali and Ardhamagadhi kinship terms given earlier. In modern Indian languages, the word is retained by the Punjabi, Sindhi, Marathi and Konkani languages and curiously also in the Kannada (a Dravidian language) word *sose*. It is not found in other languages.

The word *vahuvāru* is used for the young married women of a house and *biṭiā* for the daughters. In the Pahadi dialects the word *rāntī* is used for the married women and *dhyāntī* for the daughters. Son's wife's parents, and daughter's husband's parents are called *byāhī* or *samdhī* (masculine) and *samdhin* (feminine). Two persons whose children marry each other are each other's *samdhī* or *samdhin* (Sanskrit *sambandhin* = bound to one another).

Wife's brother is *sālā*, wife's elder sister is sometimes called *didī* or *jethāl* and the younger sister is *sālī*. The word *sālā* is used very often as a word of mild abuse or contempt. *Sālī* also may be used in the same way but is not heard as often as *sālā*.

Sālā's wife (the wife of the wife's brother) is *sālej* and *sālī*'s husband (the husband of wife's sister) is *sādhū*.¹⁵

Besides these words there are derivative words like *māus-sāsu*, *malhāhes*, etc. which refer to husband's aunts and uncles mainly, though the words mean the aunt or uncle or son, etc. of the spouse

and can be used either by a man or by a woman while referring to the relations of the wife or the husband respectively. They are however used most frequently by women as, being members of the husband's household, they come more often in contact with these secondary relatives of the husband.

Sasurāl means the father-in-law's house, while *nanihāl* is the *nānā's* (mother's father's) house. *Maikā*, *nahyar*, *pīhar*, *pekā* are words used for the mother's or the father's house.

With the help of these kinship terms a person can designate accurately the most distant kin in a few words. The English words 'uncle', 'aunt', and 'cousin' are the most confusing to a Hindu. One can never know which relation is meant. The kinship terms in India make certain jokes possible in an Indian language, but they would be untranslatable in English. A favourite one is to ask a child "is your *māmī* married?" or "is your *phuphā* married" or, a variation, "How many of your *māmīs* and *phuphās* are married?" By definition a *māmī* is the wife of the mother's brother and a *phuphā* is the husband of the father's sister. The question generally follows questions like "how many of your *māusīs* (mother's sisters) are married?", etc. which are legitimate questions and the child may slip and answer the first question by saying "I do not know" and then everybody laughs. An Indian feels quite hurt when, after mastering the indefiniteness of the words *uncle* and *aunt*, he learns to his horror that the word *cousin* is even worse and can be applied almost to any relation including the children of the uncles and aunts and their children too. In Marathi when a woman says such and such a person is my "*māvasasāsūcī culat-bhāvajaya*" the very complicated relationship (*māvasasāsūcī* = husband's mother's sister's, *culat-bhāvajaya* = father's brother's son's wife) is clear in every detail. The clear connotation of each term and the many occasions on which the need for using them arises point out to the different ways in which family and kinship are organized in the European and the Indian society and also the difference in the functions, control and influence of the family in the life of the individual.

Of the many social groups in which an individual is born or of which he becomes a member, the family and the caste are the most important groups for an individual.¹⁶ The large joint family determines his status and his economic activity and gives him security. Apart from the joint family which represents a person's intimate and nearest circle of relations there is always a larger circle of kin who play a part in his life. This kindred represents

the circle of his patri-kin or matri-kin who may stand by him and help him when the immediate family no longer suffices. Lastly, the caste within which he must marry, controls his social behaviour through its council and is a means of regulated contact with other similar units. Other civic units, especially the state, dwindle into comparative insignificance before the family. All a man's ill-gotten gains, say by embezzling a group of other individuals or the state, are spent on the huge joint family or the even larger kindred. In recent years in one of the Indian states a high official, condemned in all the papers for unlawful practices which gave him large funds, was praised unstintingly by a man who described him as follows: "May he be blessed, and may his riches increase; at home he feeds over a hundred of his kindred daily. No poor relative is sent away empty-handed." In a society where no social or political order was evolved for general security or welfare, a large family used to be the sheet anchor in all times. Old habits die hard and family loyalties, called 'nepotism' in Western terminology, still play havoc in Indian public life.

In the northern zone kinship behaviour changes slightly from region to region and, within each region, from caste to caste as reference to Appendices 2 and 3 will show. The study of these differences is very fruitful for the understanding of the social structure of each region but one needs a certain norm for undertaking a comparative study. The following sketch attempts to give such a norm, giving an 'ideal' northern pattern by referring to practices and attitudes found most commonly among a majority of the castes in the northern zone.

There are certain groups in India whose social prestige makes others copy their institutions, at least in name. The two most important groups have been, since very ancient times, the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas. Mention has been made of the *gotra*-system of the Brahmins which is like the clan-system of the non-Aryans. This *gotra*-system was written down and made into a system which applied to all Brahmins and was copied by many other castes. The castes which claim to be Kshatriyas and Vaishyas (traders) have social divisions possessing *gotras*. There is however no caste in India besides Brahmins which possesses the elaborate *pravaras* included in the *gotra*-organization. Many lower castes also have *gotras* and even primitive people talk of their clans as *gotta* or *gotra*.

There is reason to believe that Brahminhood was bestowed in ancient times on people not born Brahmins, but in modern times

few people can pass into the Brahmin fold, even though they possess a system of exogamy which tries to imitate and is therefore similar to the Brahmin *gotra* system. The Kshatriya rank on the other hand has been much more elastic and during the historical period many foreign tribes and lesser castes have assumed, and are even now assuming, the name and status of Kshatriya. In doing this they create caste genealogies tracing their descent to the famous Kshatriya heroes of mythology like Shri-Rama, Shri-Kṛṣṇa and the Pandavas. In all regions all over India one meets this process of whole castes becoming Kshatriyas. This however rarely involves intermarriage among all castes claiming Kshatriya status even of one region. Sometimes it has helped in welding different tribal elements into one caste or group arranged in hypergamous divisions.

The tendency towards hypergamous stratification is found among all caste clusters. The Brahmins for example are generally roughly divided into (1) those who do not have to earn their living by officiating at domestic ritual and (2) those who do it for a living. The former generally own land and engage in literary studies. The latter are family priests, or priests officiating at holy places. The priests who officiate at holy places when people take their baths in the holy rivers or offer worship, are held to be rather lower in status than the family priests. Among the priests at holy places (*kṣētra* in Sanskrit) those who officiate at funerary rites hold again a position lower than those who officiate at auspicious ceremonies. In Banaras, Mathura, Ayodhya, Gaya, Nasik, Rameshwar and all over India in the sacred places there are these Brahmins who are generally well off but are held to belong to a very low status among Brahmins. The Brahmins of each of these divisions marry only among themselves, but may sometimes receive a bride from a slightly lower division but not from a division many steps lower than their own. Thus a Brahmin of the first class i.e. belonging to a learned family will never marry the daughter of a *Mahā-brāhmaṇa* who officiates at funerary rites. The custom according to which a man marries a girl belonging to the same division or to one which is only of a slightly lower status has resulted in a phenomenon called *kulīnism* in Bengal. In Bengal a class of Brahmins, supposed to be descendants of learned people called in by a medieval king, call themselves *kulīn* and the rich girls of families whose *kulīn* descent was not universally acknowledged hoped to marry into *kulīn* families. The *kulīn* groom could always demand a very high price and it is reported that some *kulīn*

families who had sons only, made a business of it by getting the sons to marry a large number of wives. Sometimes the poorer wives or those born with a slightly lower status were never brought as brides to the husband's home at all. They lived at their parental home and were visited by their lord and master, who every time demanded money for such a visit. *Kulīn* youths were said to make the round of their wives' houses, extorting money and living off their parents-in-law. This resulted in a curious custom by which the children would be brought up at the maternal uncle's house. Sometimes they would be acknowledged and taken to the father's house but quite often they lived with the mother's people. The matrimonial difficulties of this class were so great that a wave of suicide swept over Bengal, where girls of poor *kulīn* parents chose death rather than bring ruin on their parents, through the payment of exorbitant dowry. The system was broken by the social reformers and the spread of education among girls.¹⁷

There are many castes which claim to be either Kayastha or Vaishya and these are generally endogamous. Among Kshatriyas there is a fairly well established hypergamy but the best examples of hypergamy are found in the central zone among the Rajputs and Marathas. The Rajput clans of the north follow the customs of Rajputs of the central zone. Those practices are described in detail in the chapter on the central zone and need not detain us here as they do not form the core of the kinship practices of the northern zone.

The organization of the family is essentially similar throughout northern India and most of the castes conform to the same basic pattern which has its roots in the Indo-Aryan patriarchal family as described in the last chapter. We have also seen that the modern kinship terms are mostly derived from the old Sanskrit terms.

It is therefore not surprising to find that the marriage regulations are based mainly on considerations of consanguinity. The ancient rule of avoiding marriage with somebody who is removed by less than seven degrees from the father and five degrees from the mother is quoted by all castes from the highest to the lowest when asked about marriage practices.

The actual rule of marriage is however that a person (1) must not marry in his patri-family which can be called the patri-clan in some cases and (2) must also avoid marriage (a) with the children of his mother's siblings and cousins and (b) with the

children of his father's sisters and the children of his father's female cousins. This rule is the same as the one which was in vogue in ancient northern India. A person must not marry in his patri-family and must avoid marriage with the *sapinda*-kin. In almost all castes in the northern zone the marriage of cousins (removed even by two or three degrees) is viewed with great disfavour though a few cases occur as exceptions.

This rule is elaborated in different ways in different communities.

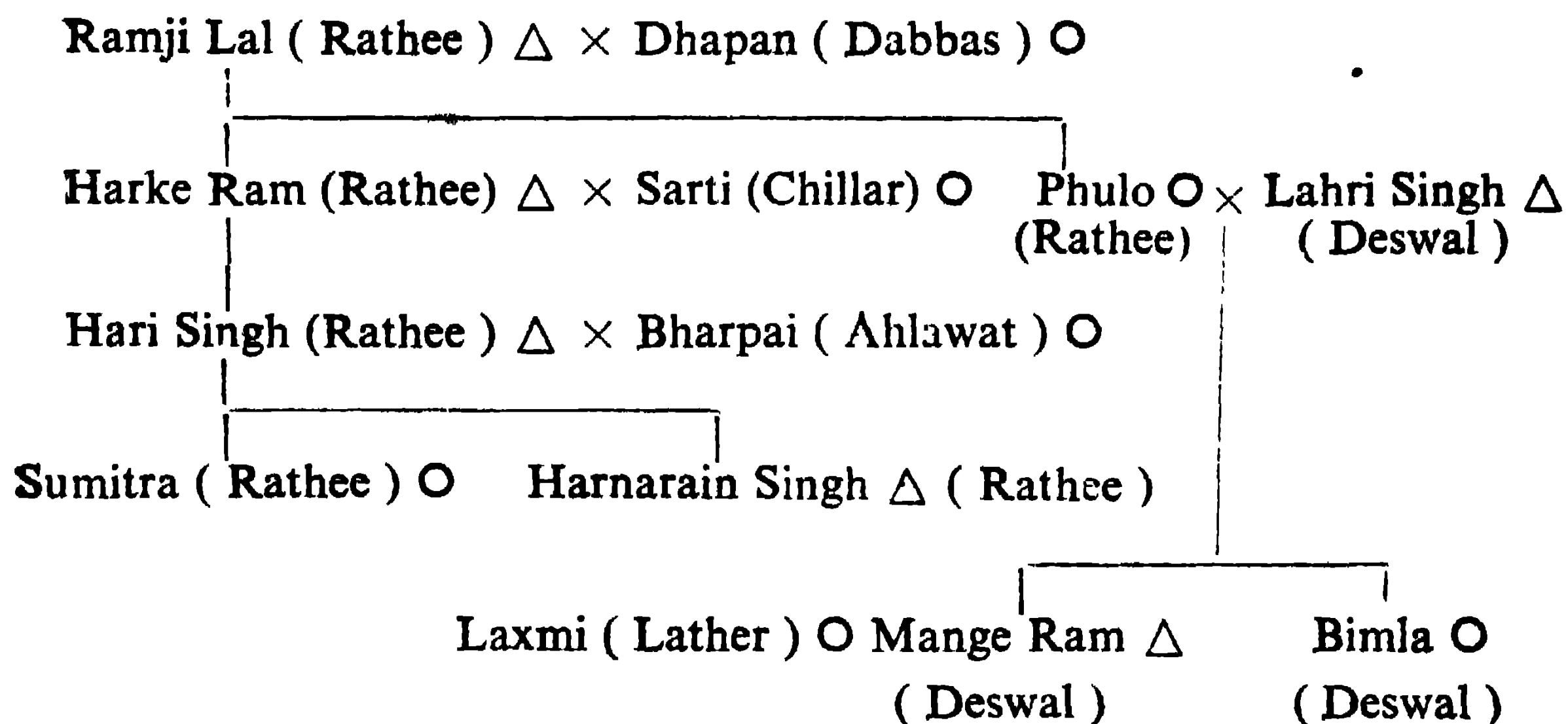
Among the Brahmins, who possess *gotras* in the old Brahmanic sense of the word, a man marries outside his own *gotra* and also that of his mother's. Just as the taboo on the father's kin embraces the patri-clan so the taboo on the mother's kin embraces the whole of the matri-clan. Besides this there is also a taboo on marriage with cousins. In the western and central parts of the northern zone there is also local exogamy inasmuch as Brahmins and other castes of the same village, even if they are of different *gotras*, do not intermarry. In the Punjab and the Delhi region this is known as the rule of *sāsan*. The Brahmin families in one *sāsan* are prohibited from intermarrying even though they belong to different *gotras*. A *sāsan* is a royal charter by which Brahmins were given land by the ancient and medieval kings in India. All those settled in one village by such a *sāsan* observe exogamy. In Bengal there is no local exogamy, nor do people avoid the mother's *gotra*.

The word *gotra* is used in slightly different meanings by different non-Brahmin castes. Sometimes a caste is divided into exogamous groups called *gotra* with no further divisions. Sometimes a caste is divided into exogamous *gotras* or endogamous *gotras* with further smaller divisions. The relationship of *gotra*, the larger division, with the smaller divisions and the function of both these types of divisions in regulating marriage will be clear from the following examples.

The Jat is an agricultural and a fighting caste of south Punjab, Delhi and northern Rajputana. It is divided into exogamous *gotras* and the marriage rule is that a man must not marry into (1) his father's i.e. his own *gotra*, (2) his mother's *gotra* and (3) his *dādī's* i.e. father's mother's *gotra*. Not so long ago, and among the orthodox people even now, a man also had to avoid his (4) *nānī's* i.e. his mother's mother's *gotra*.

The following is the genealogy of the Jat Ramjilal of Rathee *gotra* of the village of Bahadurgadh near Delhi.

GENEALOGY OF A JAT FAMILY*

(the *gotra* is given in brackets after the name)

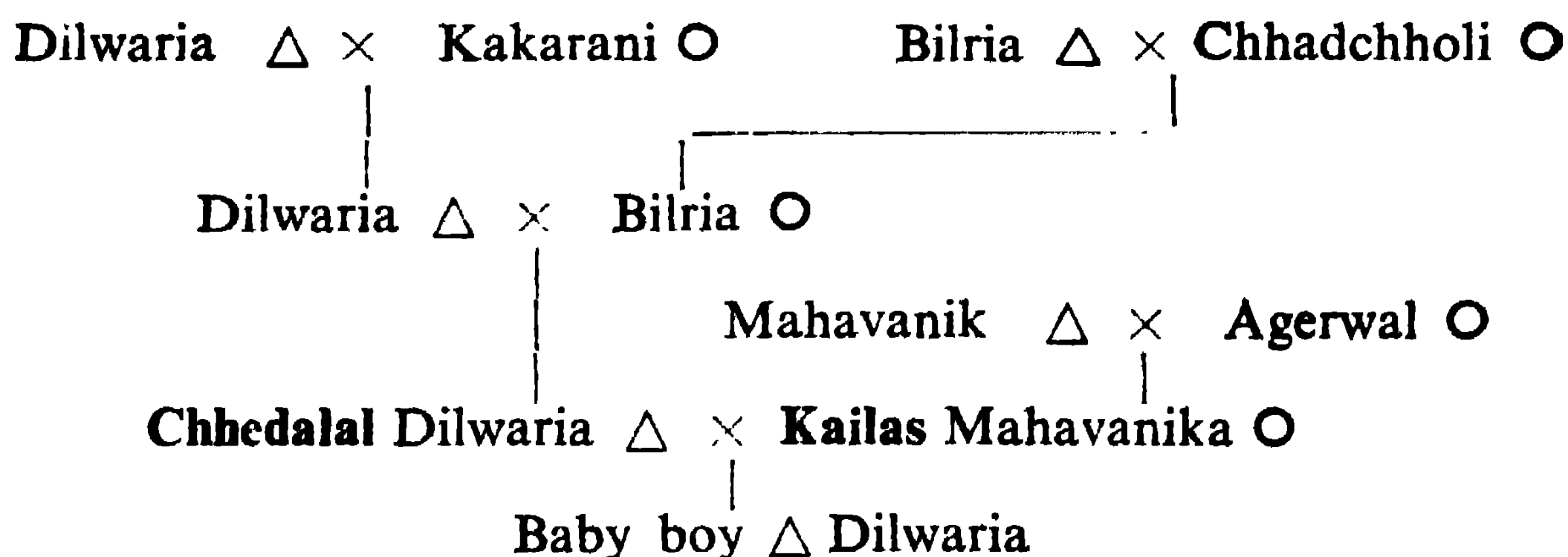
Harnarain Singh cannot marry into the *gotra* (1) Rathee being his own *gotra*, (2) Ahlawat, his mother's *gotra* and (3) Chillar, his *dādī's* — father's mother's *gotra*. Hari Singh could not marry Bimla, his father's sister's daughter because Rathee is one of the *gotras* (mother's) which Bimla has to avoid. Neither can a man marry his mother's brother's daughter as her *gotra* would be the same as his mother's *gotra*. In the same way the children of two sisters cannot marry as the *gotras* of their mothers would be common. The same rule can be stated as follows. Two people can contract marriage if their *gotras*, their mothers' *gotras* and their respective fathers' mothers' *gotras* are different. This rule makes for very wide marriage alliances. The actual geographical area in which marriages are contracted is further widened by local exogamy. All those families, the boundaries of whose villages touch must not marry among themselves. This is called *seem seemnā bhāicāra* i.e. brotherhood of boundaries. The following is a sketch of a few villages.

The Rathee village Sankaul is situated in the middle of six other villages having its boundaries touching each of them. Of these villages (3) and (5) are Rathee villages and so there is no marriage between them; but though the other villages belong to other *gotras* there is no intermarriage between them and the village Sankaul. (See Appendix 2)

* Kindly supplied to me by Mr. Rajpalsingh Rathee of Bahadurgarh.

Sarai village 5	Kasar village 6	Barahi village 1	
Balaur village 4	Rathee village Sankaul		Mandauthi village
	3 Bahadurgadh		2

Among the Kayasthas there are twelve endogamous divisions each of which is further divided into many exogamous groups possessing a name, territorial or occupational, besides also a *gotra* like the Brahmin *gotras*. The *gotras* do not seem to have any function in marriage regulations. Chhedalal is a Kayastha belonging to the endomalous division Mathur of the exogamous subdivisions Dilwaria (belonging to Delhi). In marriage he had to avoid (1) his father's family Dilwaria, (2) his mother's family Bilria, (3) his *dādī's* (father's mother's) family Kakarania, and (4) his *nānī's* (mother's mother's) family Chhadchholi. So he married a woman of the Mahavanika family. [N.B. OWN NAMES ARE IN THICK TYPE.]



In the case of the baby boy, while seeking a marriage partner, the families he has to avoid are: (1) Dilwaria, his own; (2) Mahavanik, his mother's; (3) Bilria, his father's mother's and (4) Agerwal, his mother's mother's. He can marry into the families of his great grandmothers i.e. Kakarania and Chhadchholi. All these people are of course of the endogamous group Mathur Kayastha.

This usage can be illustrated schematically in the following way. It is necessary for at least eight *gotras* to be in existence to fulfil the condition of avoidance of four *gotras*. Let us call these *gotras*

A, B, C, D, L, M, N and P. Then a man born in *gotra* A with his mother B, father's mother C and mother's mother D will be represented by the formula ABCD; he can marry a girl having the four *gotras* L, M, N and P representing the formula LMNP. We have then the following genealogy and marriages of boys born in the *gotra* A.

(1) ABCD Δ \times LMNP \circ

(2) A¹IBM Δ \times CNDP \circ

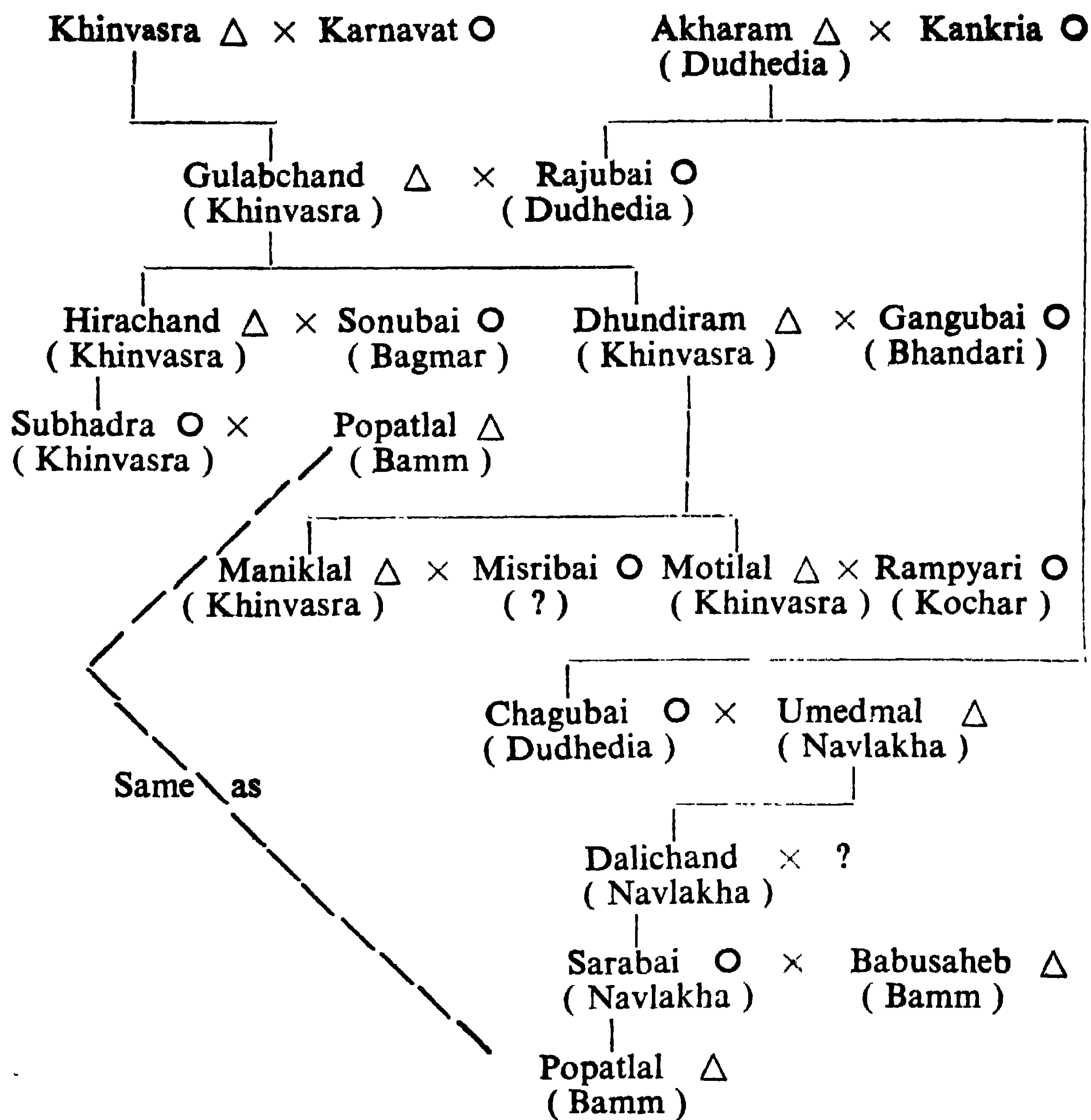
(3) A¹CLN Δ \times BDMP \circ

(4) ABCD Δ \times LMNP \circ

After four generations a boy will have the same *gotra* formula and so can marry a woman with the same *gotra* formula as the wife of his great-grandfather i.e. he can marry his cross-cousin removed by two degrees. He can also marry a parallel cousin (his great-grand-mother's sister's grand-daughter) twice removed as will be seen from the genealogy given below. It belongs to the Khinvasra family whose caste is Oswal Jain Vaishya.

Dhundiram Khinvasra married Gangubai. The four *gotras* of Dhundiram are: (1) own *gotra* Khinvasra, (2) mother's *gotra* = Dudhedia, (3) *dādī's gotra* = Karnavat, and (4) *nānī's gotra* = Kankaria.

Gangubai's four *gotras* are: (1) Bhandari, (2) Kunvad, (3) Parakh, and (4) Darada. All these are different. Again in the next generation Motilal, the son of Dhundiram, has the *gotras* (1) Khinvasra, (2) Bhandari, (3) Dudhedia, (4) Kunwad. He married Rampyari whose *gotras* are (1) Kocher, (2) Sankla, (3) Lodha, and (4) Bapna. It will be noticed that two of Motilal's *gotras* are different from his father's. The father's two grand-mothers' (father's and mother's mothers') *gotras* Karnavat and Kankaria are dropped. Father's and mother's maternal uncles' *gotras* become his own grand-mother's *gotras*. He could therefore marry into the *gotra* of his father's father's mother or mother's father's mother's mother. He could have a bride who has the same great-grandfather through the female line as he has. He can never marry a Khinvasra, which is his patri-lineage. This rule of avoidance of four *gotras* makes it impossible for a person to marry anybody in the patri-lineage, however far removed the

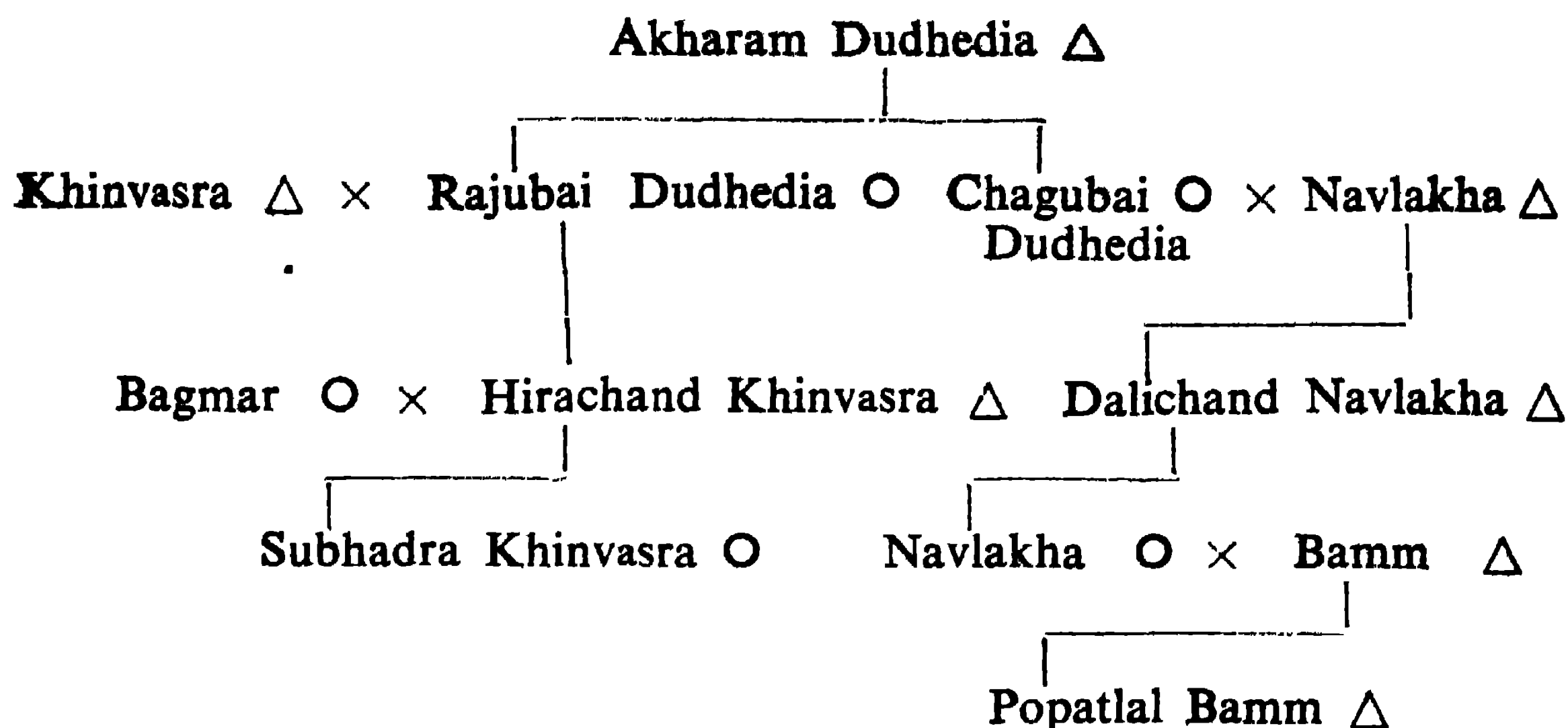


kinship may be, and also makes it impossible for a person to marry any relative nearer than two degrees in any other lineage.

The marriage of Popatlal with the girl Subhadra shown in the genealogy above is a marriage of blood-relations. The genealogy of Popatlal and Subhadra at a glance is as follows :

Akharam is the great grandfather (father's mother's father) of Subhadra and the great-great-grandfather (mother's father's mother's father) of Popatlal. Because the descent is through three women, who each changes her *gotra* on her marriage, the rule of four *gotras* is not violated. The four *gotras* of Subhadra are: (1) Khinvasra, (2) Bagmar, (3) Raysohoni, and (4) Dudhedia; those of Popatlal are: (1) Bamm, (2) Navlakha, (3) Kunklod, and (4) Nahar.*

* This family belongs to Rajputana and is now resident in Poona. Some castes in Rajputana follow north Indian rules of marriage.



As there are always more than just eight exogamous divisions or *gotras* in most castes one does not come across many examples of marriages of cross or parallel cousins removed only by two degrees. In any genealogy there are generally many more than eight *gotras* represented, as we can see from the fragment of Khinvasra genealogy where there are eighteen *gotras* connected by marriage alliance.

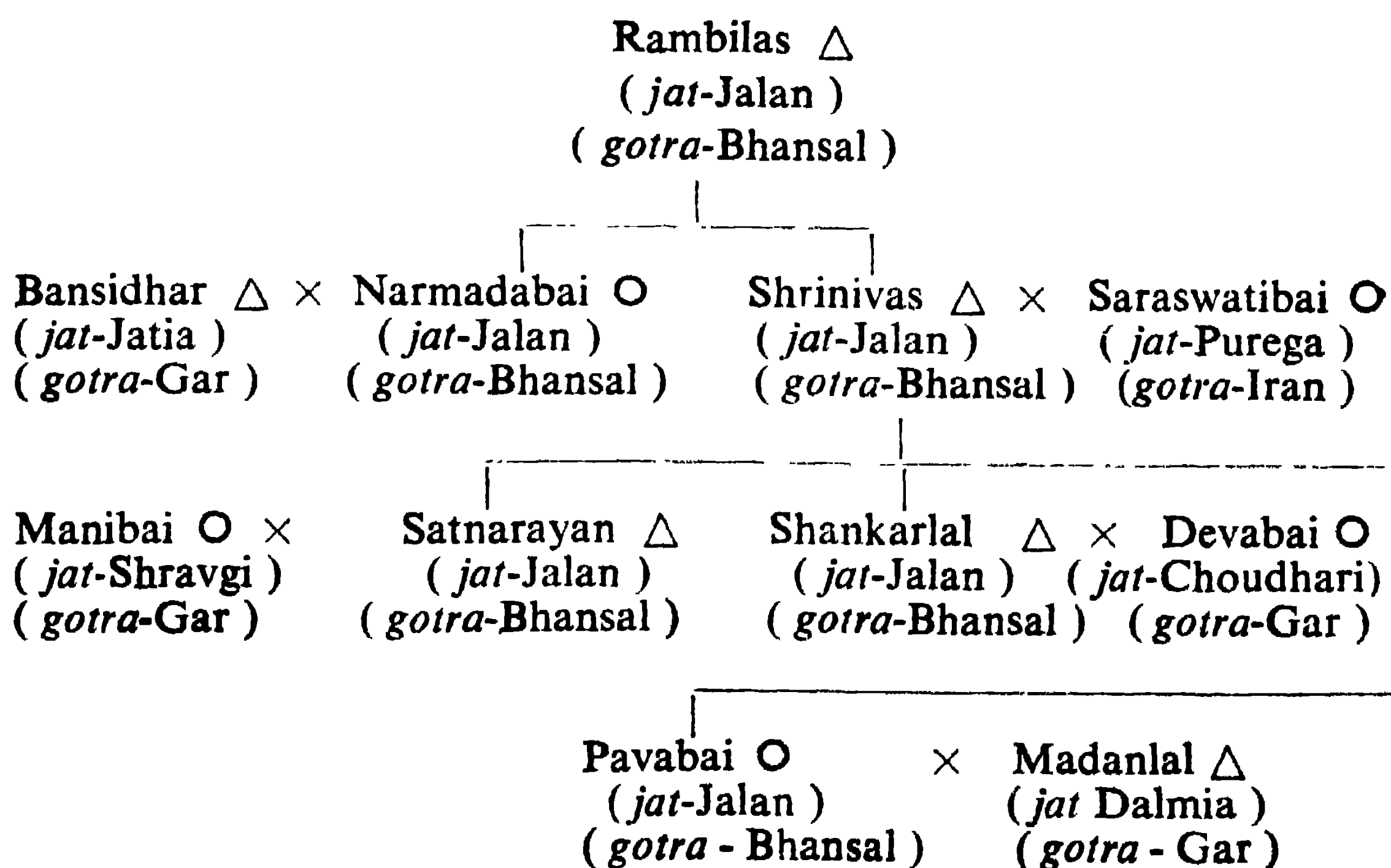
But stated in the form of "the four *gotra* rule", as it is called by most of the castes who practise it, it resembles the Australian eight class system as explained by Murdock and it has the same function, namely the avoidance of marriage of kin removed by less than two degrees.

Whether this rule is to be derived from the old *sāpinḍya* rule or whether it is a modification of the old rule in imitation of a non-Aryan cultural influence, I am unable to say.¹⁸ It may be noted here that it seems very probable that the ancient Aryans came into contact with people speaking Austro-Asiatic languages very early in India.¹⁹

The four *gotra* rule goes much beyond the rule forbidding consanguine marriages. The latter rule has no reference to patri- or matri-clan or even to the whole of the joint patri- or matri-family. It simply states that certain degrees of kin are to be avoided on the father's and mother's side. This four *gotra* rule on the other hand embraces the patri-clan of four relatives irrespective of whether any person in these clans is a kin or not. In effect, it prevents marriage with near kin of the same type as given in ancient rules. The *kula* had no fixed name but had a locality. From such beginnings the local families may have taken on names based on locality like Agarwal (those from Agra), Bilria (those

from Brindaban), or from occupations like Mahavanik (the great merchant), which became clans in the true sense. It would be interesting to trace the rise of these clan-names or names of patri-families based on one locality and also to find out if possible the probable period from which the rule of four *gotras* is in force in the communities of the northern zone and in the northern portion of the central zone.

Besides the three *gotra* and four *gotra* rule, there is also a one *gotra* rule which states that a person must avoid his own *gotra* for marriage. This rule in the northern zone is always accompanied by a rule which forbids marriage with near relations, or which forbids marriage in the family of the mother, mother's sister and father's sister. The genealogy given below belongs to a caste called Agarwal Vaishnava Vaishya. The caste is spread all over India. This caste is divided into eighteen exogamous divisions called *gotra*. Each *gotra* is further divided into patri-lineages called *jāt* or *jāti*.²⁰ A person must not marry in his *gotra* nor in the *jāt* of his mother, of his father's sister and of his mother's sister. The genealogy given below is that of a man Rambilas of Bhansal *gotra*, born in the Jalan *jāt* (patri-lineage). His sons and daughters and son's daughters are born in the same *gotra* and *jāt* as his. His children are married into two new *gotras*: Gar and Iran. The children of his son, two grandsons and one granddaughter all marry into the Gar Gotra but into different *jāts* — patri-lineages — of that *gotra*.



If a daughter is given into a certain family of a certain village, a second daughter is generally not given into the same family or village in that generation and, owing to the taboos mentioned above, not in the next two generations at least. Also, there is a prejudice against exchanging daughters.

In Rajasthan Rajputs are divided into hypergamous clans but apart from clan hypergamy a new kind of hypergamy has resulted through their spread all over India. During the middle ages, they spread all over Northern India. Wherever they spread they are supposed to have mixed with local people so that the status of the Rajputs becomes lower and lower the more easterly they are. In the Gangetic plain it is, therefore, customary for eastern brides to seek western grooms. This rule of marriage is given in a saying, "the girl from the east, the boy from the west" (*Pūrab kī beṭī, pacchim kā beṭā*).²¹ A record of Rajput marriages over areas in the north should show that western villages provide grooms while the eastern villages provide brides and that there is a direction in the transaction of circulation of women.

Not only is the family which gives a daughter in marriage supposed to have a status inferior to the family which receives a daughter, but even a village which gives a daughter is inferior in status to a village which receives one. I could not, like Dr. McKim Marriot, find a directional trend showing "daughter-giving villages" on one side and "daughter-receiving villages" on the other, but rarely does it happen that a village which receives a daughter gives one in return. (See Appendix 2 for the data on two north-western villages). It must be remembered that this new material was collected in 1962, about ten years later than Dr. Marriot's.

There is thus a wider and wider circle for seeking marital alliances, but there is always an outer limit for this expansion which is different for each caste. This region of endogamy may comprise from a few administrative districts to a whole linguistic region. This limitation of the field for marriage is due to the fear that the bride or groom of a distant village, though professing to belong to the same caste as one's own, may be inferior in some ways. Therefore one gives daughters in marriage to families with whom old affinal relations of one's own family or of one's affinal families can be established.

There are thus two opposing tendencies. The consciousness of caste status keeps marriage territorially and genealogically within a group which, from old times, is established as an affinal group, while the taboos on the marriage of near kin and the prescription

of local exogamy tend to spread the affinal group over a comparatively large area and to include a considerable number of families within it. It would be interesting to find out the exact limits of the inner and outer circles of exclusion and inclusion in different northern areas and among different castes.

The interdependence and complementary nature of the two units—the joint family and the village is seen also in the custom of *neota*. When a man seeks a groom for his daughter the matter is not first a family affair but is discussed in the village *Chaupal*,²² where people meet and have a smoke in the evening. The Brahmin astrologer, who generally takes a round of villages in the itinerary and knows of people and families in a wide region, has always a list of prospective grooms and brides of different castes and suggests a likely person. The first preliminaries are concluded through the astrologer and some mutual friends of the groom and the bride and enquiries are made as regards the sum of money expected as dowry or bride-price. Then one calculates the probable expenses of a marriage and, if one has about a little over a half or two-thirds of the money required, formal proceedings are entered into by sending the astrologer and the barber with a definite proposal. The portion of expenses which cannot be borne by the family is made good by the village community. At a particular time in the wedding ceremony all the invited guests give money presents to the groom or the bride. The money is given in cash and received in a big metal dish and a village dignitary keeps careful record of the cash given by each guest. The family which thus receives cash gifts must return them to the respective families when a similar occasion arises. This gift is called the *neota*. The *neota* registers are kept for generations. The people who pay these gifts need not belong to the caste of a man. They represent most of the families of a village. A new-comer can enter the *neota*-circle by starting to make a gift. The *neota* account can be closed by giving the dues against one's name plus a little something added to it. A man knows almost to a rupee how much *neota* money he can expect. Members of the patri-family outside the joint family bring gifts, but they are not *neota* gifts. These also must be returned at some future date. The most substantial gifts are brought by the bride's or groom's mother's brother. The bride's or groom's father's sister on the other hand receives gifts on all occasions as an honoured guest.

Girls and boys were generally married when they were but children.²³ The bride is not finally sent to the groom's house until

she reaches puberty. Till that time she goes to her parents-in-law's house for a few days as a guest. The groom is called to take away the bride on an auspicious day after the bride has her first menses and a ceremony called '*gauna*' is performed.²⁴ Fruit is piled in the lap of the bride. Rich presents are given to her, to the groom and to his parents. Generally ceremonial cohabitation takes place. Sometimes it is deferred until the groom and bride go to the groom's house. Between the marriage and *gauna* ceremony a period of anything from a few months to a few years can elapse depending on the ages of the groom and the bride. Among some castes the bride accompanied by a woman from her father's house is taken to her husband's home immediately after marriage and returns to her parental home after a short stay. When she goes with the husband after *gauna*, she comes back but rarely on some ceremonial occasions.

Early marriage to a stranger and the separation from the mother's house have given a peculiar tone to all the northern folk songs and have given rise to certain situations cleverly exploited in story-telling.

A folk song of the Delhi region tells the following story: A young wife was met by a stranger at the village well. The stranger pretended to be her younger brother from whom she had been separated since the time of her departure from her parental house after her marriage and who had been very young at that time. The girl eagerly asked, "Are all people well at my father's house?" "Yes" said the man, "all are well except our poor mother who is bed-ridden with serious illness". On hearing this the young wife ran back to her husband's home and demanded to be sent back with her brother to her ailing mother. The parents of her husband warned her that the stranger might not be her brother at all, but the impetuous girl would not listen and started forthwith with the 'brother' who turned out to be a cheat. The story goes on to say how she saved herself in an awkward situation. The thing to note is that the absence of a girl away from her parent's home could be so long that she could no longer remember how her infant brother looked.²⁵

A novel by Rabindra Nath Tagore called *Naukā Dubī* (The sinking of a boat) is based on another situation.

A marriage party returning with the bride was caught in a storm on the river Ganga. The night was falling and the boat, driven by winds, capsized. The groom managed to swim ashore in the darkness and fell asleep under a bush. The next morning on

awakening he found not far from him a girl in a swoon. She was in bridal attire. The girl opened her eyes and was reassured to find herself with a man she thought was her husband. The young man himself, also wearing the ceremonial clothes of a groom, at once recognized that the girl was not his bride, but had not the heart to tell it to the little frightened girl. Apparently two marriage parties had been overwhelmed in the storm and had come to grief, a not at all rare phenomenon when one considers that there are special marriage seasons and auspicious days when a large number of marriages take place in a neighbourhood.²⁶ On this initial misunderstanding and deception the whole story is based.

It is the parents of the groom and bride who arrange the marriage. The groom and bride see each other only at the time of the marriage when propriety dictates that the girl must sit with her eyes and head lowered. Even when the party returns to the groom's home the bride sits surrounded by the women-folk, very shy and veiled, and generally sorrowful and frightened. The groom should also be shy, but being a man a bold glance at the bride now and then during the ceremony may evoke a jest but not a reprimand. It is therefore quite possible that a bridal pair may not remember each other's face immediately after marriage.

The same author has given another story²⁷ of a beautiful girl who got married to a man and was taken away to the groom's village. A few days later it was discovered that the bride was dumb. A girl is supposed not to speak when the groom's people come to see her. She has to act very shy and her mother sometimes has to lift her chin so that her face can be properly seen by the groom's people. In such circumstances it is quite possible that days can elapse before people discover that the bride keeps silent because she is dumb and not just out of shyness. I myself was a visitor in a house where all women except the bride were talking. The bride sat without words and movements with her face covered. The mother-in-law led me to the bride, removed the end of the sari from the head and lifted the chin of the girl so that I had a glimpse of a very beautiful face. Even then, to show her breeding, the bride had closed her eyes and opened them only at my special request. There is a ceremony called *Mukhdikhāī* (face-showing) at the groom's village when the marriage party comes with the bride. The bride sits with her face veiled and all the women of the village come to see her. Each woman pays a silver coin for the privilege of seeing the bride's face and is given some sweets before returning home.

The practice of veiling the bride also leads to incidents both funny and tragic, when one girl is substituted for another. The theme is sung in various folk-songs and exploited in modern cinema stories.

For purposes of marriage a village is an exogamous division of society. This means that all the people belonging to one caste living in a village behave as if they were descendants of one common ancestor. This idea however is never stretched so far as to consider the whole village as one family for all social purposes. The distinction between a joint family and a caste group in one village is very elastic depending on the history of the founding of the village. All members of one joint family observe pollution at births and deaths in the family. All members of one caste in a village rarely do so. I have however seen one village in Maharashtra which was supposed to be founded by one man and where all Brahmin houses were supposed to belong to his descendants. A death in one Brahmin house would bring pollution to all the Brahmins in all the houses in the village so that no food could be cooked. The affinal relations from neighbouring villages came to provide food during such a period. In the north such a situation might arise when all people could trace their descent from the founder. In certain regions and amongst certain castes, no two living people in a joint family can have the same own name.²⁸ Even when a joint family is broken up, as long as there is active social intercourse among the split families this taboo is observed. A child can be named after the grandfather only if he has died before the birth of the child. Those who acknowledge relationship through a male ancestor and call each other paternal cousins (brothers) cannot have the same own names.²⁹ This sentiment is rarely extended to the village or the large unit even though marriage may be prohibited because of common ancestry in the male line. We thus find that the joint family functioning as an economic, ritual and habitation unit is always distinguished from the larger local unit based on common ancestry.

The north has separate words for 'daughters' and 'brides' in each regional language, with a double standard of behaviour and sometimes of morality for each category. This custom of local exogamy divides the women of a local group into two sharp divisions: the 'daughters' of the village and the 'brides' of the village. The daughters of different local families are very friendly with each other and enjoy each other's company whenever they come back to the village from their father-in-laws' houses. They all constitute K...9.

a sort of a spy service to watch the behaviour of the 'brides'. Folk literature singles out certain pairs of relations as natural enemies. *Nanand-bhojāī* i.e. a woman and her husband's sister is one such pair. *Sās-bahū* i.e. a woman and her husband's mother is another. *Nanand* (husband's sister) is the daughter of a house. *Bhojāī* (brother's wife) is the bride. The *nanand* has to leave the house in which she was born and finds that a complete stranger takes her place in it. *Sās* is the mother-in-law, the ruler of the joint family.³⁰ *Bahū* is the young daughter-in-law. Though both are brides, i.e. women who have come into the family through marriage, the *sās* being the mother has established certain rights. The *bahū* is a stranger, who is the present slave and the future mistress. The rivalry between *sās* and *bahū* is the rivalry of two generations of women between whom, in the course of time, power is transferred from the old to the young. All the girls of the husband's village watch over the 'brides' and report their smallest gesture to their mothers, who are of course the mothers-in-law of the young brides. There is hardly a song which does not talk of the ever wakeful *sās* and *nanand* who would wake up at night and interfere even if the bride goes to her own husband.

There is a folk-song which is sung in Uttar Pradesh in Hindi, in Gujarat in Gujarati and in Maharashtra in Marathi which deals with the over-bearing behaviour of the *nanand* to her brother's wife. The *nanand* is on a visit to her father's home, and demands to see the clothes and ornaments of her brother's wife. After seeing them she chooses a sari which happens to be a present from her (the bride's) mother. The bride begs the husband's sister to choose any other costly thing except this, but in vain. She has to give it up and does so with curses. In the Marathi version she takes a terrible revenge by making her husband kill his sister.³¹

Early marriage to a complete stranger out of the native village is a terrible crisis in a girl's life. In India marriage is a sacrament and no normal man or woman must die without receiving this sacrament. It is a custom among many communities that if a woman dies a spinster, a marriage ceremony is performed with the corpse and the woman is then cremated with the honours due to a married woman. There is greater freedom for man, but if a man who has gone through the initiation ceremony dies without marrying, he is supposed to become a ghost. To die childless is to miss heaven. This firmly established belief would make a girl unhappy if she is not married. The marriage ceremony is pomp and fun and yet the moment of parting from the mother is poignant. The

whole of the northern zone reflects this in the number of pairs of words for the father-in-law's house on the one hand and the beloved house of the father and mother on the other. Hundreds of folk-songs bear witness to the agony of a girl at parting for ever from her parents' home. The husband is a shadowy figure, the real people are the parents-in-law and from an indulgent home she has to go to strangers who are ready to find fault with her at the slightest gesture. In the husband's home there is the ever present fear of the husband bringing another wife. Only when a girl becomes the mother of a boy does she feel completely at home in her husband's house. The sentiment existing between the two families joined by a marriage is well reflected in the custom according to which a respectable man does not take food at his daughter's husband's house when he goes on a visit. He is among strangers. The relationship is that of givers and receivers. One who gives the daughter should not receive anything. A father rarely visits a married daughter. He may go only on extremely formal occasions but the brother may go often and hence in northern Indian folk-songs girls sing always of the *bīr* (the brother) who comes as a beloved visitor and brings news of the parents. One hears again and again of the *mā-jāiā* (born of the same mother) *bīr*. In a polygynous society brothers and sisters born of the same mother have closer bonds than those born of different mothers. It is considered a great shame for a man in old age to have to live with his son-in-law for lack of sons or other agnatic kin.

In the northern and central zones as also in parts of the southern zone there is a vast amount of song and story literature transferred from generation to generation by oral tradition. This folk-literature is sharply divided into men's literature and women's literature. While the written literature of the modern Indian languages is dominated by men-writers, the oral tradition is rich in women's songs. In these songs are preserved to us the thoughts and feelings of women in different types of families, especially those living in the northern type of patri-family. For any student wishing to understand the organization of the Indian family and the stresses and strains inherent in it, a study of this material and a study of proverbs is indispensable. A small sample of such songs current in the Maharashtra region is given in an appendix to Chapter IV. This region represents a mixture of northern and southern traits though it is predominantly northern in being patrilineal and patrilocal.

As in ancient days the custom of junior levirate is found among

many castes in the north. Generally Brahmins, Khatri, Kayastha and Vaishya deny the existence of this custom among them but a lady medical practitioner living in the Delhi region for many years assured me that the custom is very wide-spread in villages and is found among all castes. A widow simply goes and lives with her younger sister-in-law (husband's younger brother's wife) as her co-wife. She is referred to as 'sister'³² sitting in the house (*ghar-baṭheli*). I myself have come across one case of senior levirate in the case of a poor Sikh family. The eldest brother worked hard and secured a bride for the younger brother by paying a heavy bride price. The young boy was too young to live with his wife and so she lived with his elder brother. I could not understand the reason for such a peculiar procedure. The elder brother pleaded that he had got the girl when she was five years old and had looked after her for nine years. She was given as bride for the younger brother and at the time the case came before the juvenile court in Poona the elder brother was living with her. To our enquiry as to why he did not get a bride for himself he answered that grown up girls would have cost much more and he could not afford it.

Dr. Majumdar³³ has noted the custom of polygyny among the higher status group, and a dearth of brides with polyandry among poorer people among the Jat and other Northern communities.

All over India there is the custom of giving bride-price among the poorer castes and of receiving dowry among the higher castes. Mention was made of hypergamous marriages in U.P. and *kulinism* in Bengal. In Sind the dowry used to be so heavy that many girls remained unmarried. The Amils of Sind are perhaps the only major community which has many spinsters among them. In the Delhi and Punjab region, among poorer classes there is always a dearth of brides. How this comes about is not known. Though female infanticide is not practised, neglect of female babies may lead to the same result. In modern days many good-looking girls of poorer families are enticed or sold into prostitution and taken to big industrial towns like Calcutta and Bombay.

A review of the Northern family system would not be complete without mentioning the community called Khashas living in the foothills of the Himalayas. This community calls itself Hindu and is divided into Hindu castes like Rajput and Brahmin and has been described by Dr. D. N. Majumdar.³⁴ Its peculiarity lies in the fact that it practises fraternal polyandry. Fraternal polyandry is at present practised among some people living in the Himalayan foothills, but it was more wide-spread formerly. The Khashas

maintain that by practising polyandry they have retained their ancestral lands and that the neighbouring people who foolishly gave up polyandry split their lands among the heirs of various brothers and had to migrate to the plains and become household servants.

So we find in modern days also, wide-spread customs of levirate side by side with a few communities which practise polyandry. The Himalayan Khashas may be retaining an old custom prevalent among some sections of the ancient Indo-Aryans or they might have taken it up from the polyandrous Tibetans just across the border. The Khashas use Sanskritic kinship terms, are patrilocal and patrilineal and do not show any Mongoloid racial affinities. Their own assertion that it was once a more wide-spread custom makes it probable that they have not borrowed it, but the question needs to be investigated further by working among Himalayan tribes.

Though the system of levirate is found among a large number of castes it has not the sanction of the present-day Brahmanic religion. The Smṛtis have all condemned it as a custom not suited to the present times, so that during the historical period one finds the custom of adoption coming into vogue. Higher castes and ruling families generally prohibit levirate and prefer that the widow should adopt a boy. In a majority of cases however it is the man who adopts a child, if he finds himself childless in spite of marrying again and again. A very large amount of litigation arises out of the quarrels between the adopted child and both or one of his parents. Agnates generally prefer a widow to adopt a child from the agnatic branch, preferably a child of the brother or cousin of the deceased husband. Sometimes they wish to prevent an adoption as they hope to get a portion of the estate if there is no son as successor. It was said that one of the reasons why so many widows were forcibly burnt with their dead husbands was to prevent adoption of a stranger as a son into the family.

The most powerful motive for polygyny besides the display of social status and wealth is the desire for male progeny. Not only does a man marry again if the first wife proves barren but the author has known cases in which the first wife insisted on a second marriage of her husband in order that children should be born in the house. When asked why she would not adopt a child, she replied, "An adopted child is a complete stranger. A co-wife's child is at least the child of my husband and I could love it as such. I would hate to bring up strangers as my children." Far more usual is the attitude where, in a polygynous household, a woman hates her

rival's children who are a constant living reminder of her defeat and a symbol of her humiliation.

We have seen above that the widow who lives with her husband's brother is called *ghar-baṭhelī*. A widow may also enter into the house of an unmarried man or a widower and force him to marry her. This mode of marriage is not uncommon among poorer people. An instance was reported to me in which a servant in a family living in Simla started suddenly sending money to his "wife" in the plains. The lady of the family whose servant he was asked him in surprise as to how and when he had got married. He said that a woman X, a widow, had entered his house in his native village and started living in his house as his wife. He was informed of this, apparently accepted the situation and started sending money to his new "wife". He said that this type of thing happened among his people and was accepted by all. This type of marriage has been recorded among Mundas and Birhors also.³⁵ It was perhaps practised by many other castes in India as a word "*ghar-ghuṣī*" (a woman entering the house by force) is used for certain women in the early Marathi literature also.

All over India the words for 'marriage' are always different from the words for 'widow-marriage'. The second marriage of a woman needed no ritual and vows. It is merely considered to be a living together of a man and a woman after letting a few friends and relatives know about it. In the north the word for marriage is *byāh* (Sanskrit—*vivāha*) and those for widow-remarriage are *sagāi* or *karāo* or *karewā* and *sanga*. The marriage of a widow was absolutely prohibited in certain castes, while in other castes, where it was allowed, such a marriage had not the sacredness of a first marriage. This type of taboo on the second marriage of a *man* does not exist, but there is a social dislike against it. Well-to-do men married formerly a second or third time even when the previous wives were living. Multiple marriage gave prestige to a man, but lowered the social status of the family which gave its daughter to a man whose first wife was alive. In Indian languages there are proverbs, folk-songs and folk-tales about the co-wife. In such songs the plight of a woman who has to live with a co-wife is depicted. In other circumstances, following the tradition of the Sanskrit classical drama (Kalidasa), a girl was expected to live like a friend with a co-wife. In still other circumstances a barren woman induced her husband to marry a second wife. In such cases the position of dominance in household affairs remained with the first wife who controlled the servants, brought up the

children and also exercised some power over the younger co-wife. The situation of a barren woman and her co-wife has been depicted in a folk-song of Kathiawad.³⁶

Giving a girl as a bride to a man who is a widower is considered to be not the best kind of marriage for a girl. Such a marriage is supposed to have been contracted for money considerations or might indicate the existence of some defect in the bride. There is a word in Marathi for a bride-groom of this type: "*bijavar*" (second-time bride-groom). A man loses his social status to some extent if he gives his daughter to a man who is marrying for the second time.*

The behaviour pattern of the kin-group in the northern family is like that of the patri-family in ancient India.† The man lives with his patri-kin among whom he is born and reared. He comes in contact with his wife's relations but rarely. The woman on the other hand spends her life, except for the few childhood years, with her affinal kin with whom she is not acquainted upto the moment of her marriage. Definite patterns are set up for her behaviour with these relations.

A woman must stand up and cover her head and face if she is in the same room as her parents-in-law, and the brothers and cousins of the parents-in-law, whom also she refers to as father-in-law and mother-in-law. Except on ceremonial occasions, she must never be in the same room as her father-in-law or the elder brothers and cousins of her husband. The women generally occupy the inner rooms. The mode of greeting for these relations and for her husband is for the woman to bow low to the ground and place her head on their feet. When a bride comes home all the women neighbours come to see the bride when she takes off the end of the sari from her head. This ceremony is called *mukh-dikhāi*. During the marriage ceremony her face is shown to all the affinal kin. Even on this occasion she is supposed to keep her glance

* We have seen in the last chapter that when a husband dies, the blame is placed on the inauspiciousness of the wife. This inauspiciousness is supposed to be due partly to the stars under which she is born. A similar belief is expressed about the inauspiciousness of the horoscope of a man whose wife dies within a short time after marriage. Recent statistics gathered by a student, Mr. P. R. Mokashi, show that the overwhelming percentage of Hindu marriages registered in the city of Poona in 1952-53 were between bachelors and virgins.

† In spite of the Buddhist and Jain record relating to Kosala, Magadha, Vanga (Central U.P., Bihar, Bengal) showing marriages of cross-cousins, such cases have not come to the notice of the author in her investigation of the present practices.

lowered or her eyes shut. Towards the younger brother of her husband her behaviour is more free and she may joke with him. A bride however should be neither seen too much except when working nor heard too much. Only when she becomes a mother can she be a little freer, but only when the mother-in-law is old or dead does a woman have freedom of speech and behaviour. If the husband dies when the bride is but young she is branded as an inauspicious woman and her lot is hard. This is an ancient sentiment. Already in a R̥gvedic hymn a person supplicates to the powers that the bride may not be a killer of her husband or brother-in-law or the cattle. In modern times, whatever misfortunes fall to a house within a year of bringing in a new bride are ascribed to the inauspicious qualities of the bride. Generally a woman is so dominated by the affinal kin or by the husband that she rarely makes a positive impression except as a mother. It is not rare to see women, who were nothing but meek nonentities, blossom out into positive personalities in their middle-aged widowhood, or boss over the weak old husband in the latter part of the married life.

The northern joint family is a status group where husband, wife, parents-in-law, daughters-in-law, sons, daughters, sisters-in-law and brother-in-law have each a definite place assigned to him or her vis-à-vis all others. The work which each has to do, the pleasures each will enjoy are more or less fixed by convention, and the important thing one has to learn are these conventions of kinship behaviour.³⁷ A man behaves in a deferential manner to all elder relatives of his wife and jokes with her younger brothers and sisters. A man may marry the younger sister of his wife during the life-time of his wife or after her death. Many folk tales exploit this situation in the relationship of sisters.

A father does not eat in the house where his daughter is given as bride. Sometimes even the village in which the daughter's husband's people live is avoided for meals. If he goes on a visit he takes presents, but will receive neither presents nor food. The brother on the other hand may visit his sister. He is much sung in northern folk-songs as *bīra* — the champion. The groom's family is always supposed to be 'higher' in status than the bride's family. The pattern of gift-giving is such that one always *gives* gifts to one's daughter's husband. If a 'daughter' of the family brings a gift on any occasion it needs to be returned at least two-fold. Daughters of poor parents therefore will rather give no gift so that they do not impose the burden of a bigger return gift on their parents.

The 'daughters' and 'brides' is an ancient dichotomy as we have seen. A girl in her parent's house and village behaves with greater freedom and constitutes a sort of watch-dog on her brother's wife who is a 'bride'. All north Indian languages distinguish between 'daughters' and 'brides'. There is a traditional 'enmity' between a woman and her husband's sister or brother's wife. Many folk-songs in the north depict these relations very vividly.

In the whole of the north women rarely go out of their houses, or take part in marriage processions. In the central and southern zones women in their coloured saris and rich ornaments are the most conspicuous members of marriage processions. In the north the women's sphere is much more isolated from that of the men than in the south and this is due to the fact that the family is not only patrilineally oriented but dominated by the patri-kin and where girls are always given in marriage to people with whom they are not acquainted. The southern patrilineal families on the other hand prefer marriages of cousins so that the orientation is not entirely patrilocal.

Since the establishment of the British rule Government service and work in industrial areas has given rise to what appear to be single family units of husband, wife and children on the European model. In such families the wife has a position of responsibility and respect but in a majority of cases it is not a true single family, because it has economic and ritual ties with a larger patri-family whose member the husband is.

The present northern family is thus a continuation of the family of the ancient times with slight modifications. It is patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal. The marriage is generally outside of the kin-group and the local group. It is a joint family in which the brides are all brought from outside and the girls are all given away. The behaviour is strictly regulated according to generations, according to whether one is born in the family or married into the family and finally according to whether one is a man or a woman. Customs like levirate and sororate, by which a widow lives with the younger brother of her husband and a man marries the younger sister of his wife, show that marriage is very much a relationship between two families rather than between two individuals. The giving and receiving of gifts also reflects the familial aspect rather than the individual aspect of the transaction. It seems as if some non-Aryan influence has been at work in modifying ancient taboos on consanguine relations into the law of the exogamy of four *gotras*.

The individual is but a vehicle of the social process, a transient meeting place of social relationships. This doctrine was crystallized into the Hindu theory of 'three debts'. A man is born with three debts — one to the gods, one to the sages and one to his ancestors. He pays them by (a) worship and ritual, (b) learning and teaching and (c) founding a family and raising children. If a man dies without paying these debts he must be born again and final release will come only when the terrible creditors are fully satisfied. In the family he pays this debt with every action of his. He obeys the elders, learns his job, marries, gets children, gives gifts and receives gifts, attends ceremonials and rituals because his family had incurred the responsibility of doing these actions long before he was born. A terrible bondage indeed, but it is the common bondage of all human beings who inherit the culture of their ancestors. Every person has to repay his debt by transmitting the culture of the ancestors to his descendents. Indian social theory has made explicit the principle underlying the whole cultural process and then devoted all its philosophical thought to find out a way to perfect freedom. The philosophical urge towards asceticism and realization of complete freedom may be a reaction against the thousand chains by which the joint family and the kindred hold the individual in terrible imprisonment.

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¹ Amil and Bhaiband are supposed to be two branches of one community. The Amil are those who took to government and other services and Bhaibands are those who have retained their ancestral occupation as merchants.

² There are Muslim Gujars in Kashmir who are pastorals.

³ There are Kayastha castes, in almost all Provinces and all were hereditary accountants and government servants especially in revenue department.

⁴ The oldest was the establishment of the Sukla Yajurveda by Yajnyavalkya, now a Vedic branch of orthodox Brahminism. The next schisms were Buddhism and Jainism founded almost simultaneously by Buddha and Nataraj Mahavira, in the 7th century B.C. Though Jainism is supposed to be older in origin, all its known literature is post-Mahavira.

⁵ Raghuvamsa, 4.36.

⁶ The following figures are given in the 1931 Census of India : In Bengal the proportion of Kayastha, Brahmins and Baidas to Hindu population was 14 per cent. In Chittagong (East Bengal) it was 58 per cent, in South Bengal 28 per cent (Census of India, 1931, Vol. V, Part I, p. 448). For Bihar and Orissa the proportion of Brahmins and Kayastha or Karan was about 7 per cent (Vol. VII, pp. 270 and 278). In U. P. it was a little above 10 per cent (Vol. XVIII, pp. 619 and 621).

⁷ Since writing this, a book on Bengal marriage practices has been published. Mrs. BELA GANGOPADHYAYA, *Marriage regulations among certain castes of Bengal*, Deccan College 1964, Poona.

⁸ Cf. H. D. SANKALIA, JGRS, V., p. 228, on "*Daddā*" in 6th-7th century inscriptions of Gujarat.

⁹ SANKALIA, *Studies in Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat*, pp. 150-151.

Thakur is assumed as a family name by some families e.g. the Tagore family.

¹⁰ Dr. S. M. KATRE suggests that Prakṛt *piucchā* may be derived from a Sanskrit word like *Pitr-pucchā* = coming after the father (*puccha* = tail) and may originally refer to the younger sister of the father.

¹¹ Dr. S. M. KATRE thinks that *mal* may be derived from some Dardic dialects where the Sanskrit *t* in *mātr* becomes *l*. Thus *mal* = mother or mother's brother, may have been taken over in Punjabi from some north-western tribal language of Indo-European affinities. The word *māvin* where the final *m* of *māmī* changes to *v* is a phenomenon very frequent in western languages like Marathi and Konkani and also in Kannada, but not known to the Punjabi. This also therefore seems to be a loan word.

¹² Dr. KATRE also suggests *mātr-puccha* as the Sanskrit word from which *māśī* may be derived.

¹³ Cf. Pali *dhītā*.

¹⁴ In Marathi, we have the words *goho* and *gho*, and in Ardhamagadhi *godha*; these may have a connection with the Bengali *ogo*.

¹⁵ The etymology of the word is given as *syālī-vodhṛ* by Sir RALPH TURNER in his Nepali dictionary. *Syālī* (Skt.) feminine form of *syāla*; *vodhṛ* (Skt.) = one who marries. The word would mean one who has married the *syālī*. Dr. KATRE suggests that the word may be derived from such Sanskrit compound as *sa(ha)vadhūka* influenced by the secondary *Vodhṛka* = those who have wives together, i.e. from the same family. The Tamil word for the same relative *or-kutiyir-konton* = one who has taken wife from the same relative; *or-kutiyir-* seems like a translation of the idea contained in the expression *sa(ha)-vadhūka*.

¹⁶ A social structure which is of importance but which is not the family or the kin is the *village*.

¹⁷ SHARAT CHANDRA CHATTERJI has described some aspects of Kulinism in his novels; he also wrote articles about it. See also GANGOPADHYAYA's work referred above under 7.

¹⁸ See further appendix 2.

¹⁹ For further discussion of this point see Chapter VII. The "Paryaya" custom among the Kayasthas of Bengal also suggests non-Aryan Austro-Asiatic influence. See book referred to above in 7.

²⁰ "Jat" when used to designate a particular caste of north-western agriculturists is pronounced with a cerebral *ṭ* approximately as in the English words 'trunk', 'cart', etc. The word *jāt* or *jāti* used above, is to be pronounced with a dental *t* as in the French words 'tu', 'tête', etc. In this sense the word is derived from the Sanskrit word *jñāti* and means agnatic kin i.e., all those who are related through a male ancestor. This word is used in India almost universally for "caste".

²¹ *Caste Handbook for Indian Army*; "Rajputs", p. 28, Superintendent Government of India Press, 1918, Calcutta.

²² The small structure which is the office of the village revenue officer and also the common meeting place for men of the village.

²³ Even now in spite of a law against early marriages, many such marriages take place all over India.

²⁴ *Gaunā* = Sanskrit *garbhādhāna* = conception.

²⁵ Anand Mohan SHARMA, *A cultural Study of the Delhi Region*, pp. 566-7. (A thesis for Ph.D. (Bombay University) — unpublished. In the library of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona).

²⁶ Except during the four rainy months and one other month, marriages can take place in all months, though November-December and March-May are favourite seasons. Also in every month some days are inauspicious, e.g., the new-moon day.

²⁷ Katha-Kadamb.

²⁸ In India a child is given a name on an auspicious day some time after its birth. The exact day is different for different castes and sects e.g., the 12th day in many Hindu castes, the 40th day for Jains etc. The name was formerly supposed to begin with particular syllables depending on the constellation of the stars at the time of the child's birth. The custom was not always followed and the child then received any name of the family deity or of a hero from mythology.

²⁹ This does not seem to be shared by the southerners. I found in Karnatak among an agricultural caste called Gangadikar Vokkaliga that the eldest son generally had the same name as the father, e.g., a father and a son would both be called Hiranna and to distinguish between them the father would be called *Dodda* (Elder) Hiranna and the boy *Cikka* (young) Hiranna.

In Maharashtra the author counted the names in a Brahmin family and found that 54 males then living had each a different name. The author's own name was Ganga and it had to be changed when news reached her parents (in Burma) that a distant cousin born eight days before the author was named Ganga. So the author's name was changed to Irawati.

In Sanskrit literature we find some names occurring in kingly genealogies but the author does not know any instance in which two brothers, or father and son had the same name.

In Pali (Buddhist) literature on the other hand for brothers such names occur again and again. Two caravan-drivers were called *Maha* (senior) Kala and *Culla* (junior) Kala. (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 28, pp. 74-76). An uncle and nephew were both called Avaroja (*ibid.*, Vol. 30, pp. 130-131).

³⁰ When a joint family consisted of father, grown-up sons and their wives etc. and if the father died, the widowed mother became in some cases, the virtual ruler, both inside and outside the house.

³¹ This song is called '*Nāg pancamīce gāṇe*' in western Maharashtra; '*Kasāīce gāṇe*' in eastern Maharashtra.

³² The co-wife is usually referred to as a "sister".

³³ D. N. MAJUMDAR, *The Cultural Pattern of a Polyandrous Society*, Indian Science Congress, Madras, 1940.

³⁴ The kinship terminology of these people given under the caption 'Pahari' in the Table is taken from two books by Dr. D. N. MAJUMDAR, the *Fortunes of Primitive Tribes*, p. 177, Lucknow, 1944, and *Races and Cultures of India*,

pp. 213-14-15, Allahabad. The kinship terms in the two books differ slightly from each other.

⁸⁵ *Encyclopaedia Mundarica*. See under the word "Bapla". Also S. C. Roy *The Birohrs*, pp. 145-146, Ranchi, 1925.

⁸⁶ *Radhiahli Rat*, part 1, p. 72, Ed. J. MEGHANI, 1935.

⁸⁷ IRAWATI KARVE, *A Family Through Six Generations*, in *Anthropology On The March*, Ed. BALA RATNAM, p. 247-248; Madras, 1963.

APPENDIX 1

	SINDHI	PUNJABI	HINDI	PAHARI
1. Fa	.. Bābo, Pīu	Bābal, Bābā, Bāp, Piu	Pitā, Bāp, Bābū	Bābā, Bāju, Babjoo
2. Fa-Fa	.. Dādo	Dāddā	Dādā, Bābā	Bābu-Nānā
3. Fa-Fa-Fa	.. Para-dādo	Para-dādo	Par-dādā	
4. Mo-Fa	.. Nāno	Nānnā	Nānā	Bābu, Dādā
5. Mo-Fa-Fa	.. Para-nāno	Par-nānā	Par-nānā	
6. Fa-Br	..			
(a) Elder	.. Bābo, Kāko	Taiyā	Pitiya	Baḍā-Bāp, Thullā
(b) Younger	.. Cāco	Cācā	Tāū	3āp, Bāju
7. Mo-Br	.. Māmo	Māmmā, Manwan!	Cācā or Kākā	Cācā
8. Mo	.. Māu, Āī, Amā	Mā, Māi, Amrī, Bhābhī	Māmā, Māmū	Māmā
			Mā, Mātā, Māi	Ijā, mǎ
9. Mo-Mo	.. Nānī	Nānī	Nānī	Nānī
10. Mo-Fa-Mo	.. Para-nānī	Par-Nānnī	Par-nānī	
11. Fa-Mo	.. Dādī	Dāddī, Ammā	Dādī	Dādī
12. Fa-Fa-Mo	.. Para-Dādī	Par-Dādī	Par-dādī	Par-dādī
13. Fa-Si	.. Puphī	Buā, Phūpphī	Phūphī, Phūphū, Phūvā, Phūphī	Phuphī
(a) Elder	..	—	Buvā, Didi	—
(b) Younger	..	—	—	—

14. Mo-Si	..	Māsī	Māsī, Māusi Khāla	Jethiā (elder) mā Kāiniā (Younger) mā Kāḍasī mā
(a) Elder	—	—	—	—
(b) Younger	—	—	—	—
15. Br		Bhāi, Bhāu, Bhāu Dādo, Dādā, Bhāu	Bhāi, Bīr	—
(a) Elder	—	—	—	—
(b) Younger	—	—	—	Bhāi
16. Fa-Br-So	..	Sautu	Cacerā-Bhāi	—
(a) Older than ego	—	—	—	Dādā (elder)
(b) Younger than ego	—	—	—	Bhāi Bhulā (younger)
17. Fa-Si-So		Puphātu	Phupherā-Bhāi	—
(a) Older than ego	—	—	—	Dādā
(b) Younger than ego	—	—	—	Bhāi, Bhulā
18. Mo-Br-So		Māroṭu	Mamerā-Bhāi	Bhāi
(a) Older than ego	—	—	—	Dādā
(b) Younger than ego	—	—	—	Bhāi

	SINDHI	PUNJABI	HINDI	PAHARI
19. Mo-Si-So	Māsātū	Masera-Bhāi, Maser,	Mauserā-Bhāi	Bhāi
(a) Older than ego	—	—	—	Dādā
(b) Younger than ego	—	—	—	Bhāi
20. Si	Bheṇu, Bheṇa	Bhaiṇ, n, Dhiahni, Manjai	Bahan, Bahin	—
(a) Elder	Dādī	—	Jijī	Dīdī
(b) Younger	—	—	—	Behin (common) Bhulī (younger)
21. Fa-Br-Da	Sautī	Patrer-Bhaiṇ	Cacerī-Bahan	Bhulī (younger) Dīdī (elder) only
(a) Older than ego	—	—	—	—
(b) Younger than ego	—	—	—	Behin
22. Fa-Si-Da	Puphātī	Phūppherī-Bhaiṇ	Phupherī-Bahan	Dīdī
(a) Older than ego	—	—	—	Behin
(b) Younger than ego	—	—	—	—
23. Mo-Br-Da	Māroṭī	Malver-Bhaiṇ	Mamerī-Bahan	Dīdī
(a) Older than ego	—	—	—	Behin
(b) Younger than ego	—	—	—	—

24.	Mo-Si-Da (a) Older than ego (b) Younger than ego	Māsātī —	Maser-Bhaiṇ —	Mauserī-Bahan Khālajāda-Bahan	— Dīdī
		—	—	—	Behin
25.	So	Putu	Betā, Laḍkā, Pūt, Putra,	Putra, Laḍkā, Beṭā	Chelā (?) Chorē
26.	Br-So (man speaking)	Bhāiṭyo	Bhatījā, Bhatiyā, Bhatrījā	Bhatījā	Chelā, Bhatijā
27.	Br-So (woman speaking)	Bhāiṭyo	Bhatījā, Bhatiyā, Bhatrījā	Bhatījā	
28.	Si-So (man speaking)	Bhānejo	Bhanejā, Bhanewaṇ	Bhānjā	Bhānja
29.	Si-So (woman speaking)	Bhānejo	Bhanejā, Bhanewaṇ	Bhānjā	Bhānja
30.	So-So	.. Poṭo	Potrā, Pottā	Potā	Nātī
31.	So-So-So	.. Para-poṭo	Par-Potā, Par-Potrā	Par-potā	—
32.	Da-So	.. Dohiṭo	Dohtrā, Dohatpot, ? Jhanethus ?	Dohitā, Nawāsā Nātī	Nātī
33.	Da-So-So	.. Para-dohiṭo	Dhī, Dhīahan,	—	—
34.	Da	.. Dhīu, Dhīa, Nīānī	Par-Dohtrā Beṭī, Laḍkī	Dhī, Dhiyā, Beṭī, Laḍkī, Putri	Chelī
35.	Br-Da (man speaking)	Bhāiṭī	Bhatījī, Bhatrījī	Bhatījī	Bhatijī
36.	Br-Da (woman speaking)	Bhāiṭī	Bhatījī, Bhatrījī	Bhatījī	Bhatijī

	SINDHI	PUNJABI	HINDI	PAHARI
37. Si-Da (man speaking)	Bhāṇejī	Bhaṇejī, Bhaṇewīn	Bhānjī	Bhānjī
38. Si-Da (woman speaking)	Bhāṇejī	Bhaṇejī, Bhaṇewīn	Bhānjī	Bhānjī
39. Da-Da	.. Dohitī	Dohitri, Dohitī	Dohitī, Nātin	
40. Da-Da-Da	.. Para-dohitī	Par-dohitī, Par-Dohtrī	Par-dohitī	
41. So-Da	.. Potī	Potī, Potrī	Potī	
42. So-So-Da	.. Para-potī	Par-potī, Par-potrī	Par-potī	
43. Fa-Si-Hu	.. Puphaḍu	Phupphā, Phupphaḍ	Phūphā	Phuphā
44. Hu-Fa	.. Sahuro	Sahura, Susar, Saura	Sasur	Sasur, Māmā
45. Wi-Fa	.. Sahuro	Sahura, (Sasur) Susar, Saura	Sasur	
46. Mo-Si-Hu	.. Māsaḍu	Māsaḍ	Mausā, Khālū	Jeth Bāp (elder sister's husband) Kās--Bāp (younger sister's husband)
47. Mo-Br-Wi	.. Māmī	Māmmī, Mawin	Māmī	Māmī
48. Fa-Br-Wi	.. Cācī	Tāi, (Chāchī), Cācī (for elder)	Tāi (elder uncle's wife), Cācī, Kākī	Cācī (Elder uncle's wife) Kākī
49. Hu-Mo	.. Sāsu	Sahuri, Sāssū, Sas, Sauhri	Sās	Śāśu,
50. Wi-Mo	.. Sāsu	Sahuri, Sāssū, Sas, Sauhri	Sās	Śāśu, Māmī

51.	Hu	..	Bhatāru, Charavāro Muḍsu, Ghoṭu	Balam, Gobbru, Munas ? Wanra, Jaḍā (groom) Der	Bhatār, Pati, Banrā (groom)	
52.	Hu-Br	..		Waddā-Der	Devar	Jethānā, Jethājī
	(a) elder than husband	..	Jethu		Jeth Devar	
	(b) Younger than husband		Deru, Gauro	Nikkā-Der	Devar	Dewar
53.	Wi-Br	..	Sālo	Sālā	Sādā, Sālā	Sālā
54.	Si-Hu	..	Bheñivio,	Banoi, Bhaṇaviyā Jijjā, Behanoi	Bahanoi, Bahneū	Bheēnā, Jijā Jamāi
	(a) Elder sister's husband					
	(b) younger sister's husband	..				
55.	Hu-Si-Hu	..	Nināna jo Ghoṭu	Naṇaviyā, Nandoi	Nandoi, Nandosī	Dādā
56.	Wi-Si-Hu	..	Saṇdhū	Sāṇdhū	Sādhū	Sarḍharu Bhāi
57.	So-Wi-Fa	..	Seṇu	Kuḍam, Sakkā	Samdhī	Samdhī
58.	Da-Hu-Fa	..	Seṇu	Kuḍam, Sakkā	Samdhī	Samdhī
59.	Wi	..	Bah	Bahuṭi, Ran, Pahnī, Jorū, Tari, Kuḍi, Savāṇi,	Jorū, Gharanī Jauja	Siāni (Bahu)
60.	Hu-Si	..	Nināna	Ninān, Nand, Nanan,	Nanand	
	(a) elder than husband		Mahandi			
	(b) younger than husband					

	SINDHI	PUNJABI	HINDI	PAHARI
61. Wi-Si	Sālī	Sālī	Sālī	Sālī
(a) elder than husband		Jathal ?		
(b) younger than husband		Sālī		
62. Br-Wi	Bhājāi	Bhaijai, Bharjāi	Bhāvaj	
(a) elder brother's wife	Bhābhī	Bhābbī	Bhābhī	Bhauji, Bhauju
(b) younger brother's wife		Wir-bahuti ?	Bahū, Bhayahu ?	Bhābhī
63. Hu-Br-Wi	Ja ? Derānī			
(a) Husband's elder brother's wife	Jethānī	Jethānī	Jethānī	Jethānī, Dīdī
(b) Husband's younger brother's wife	Derānī	Deuranī, Diranī	Devarānī	Devrānī
64. Wi-Br-Wi	Sālejī	Silehaj, Salojhar	—	Dīdī, Nadiā, Behin
65. So-Wi-Mo	Senī	Kuḍamṇī, Sakkī	Samdhin	Samdhin
66. Da-Hu-Mo	Senī	Kuḍamṇī, Sakkī	Samdhin	Samdhin
67. Da-Hu	Jato, Niāṇo	Jawāi	Jamāi, Pāhuna	Jamāi
68. Hu-Br-So	Jethoṭu, Derātu	Jathutta, Darutta	Jethauta, Deratta	
69. Hu-Si-So	Nanatu	Nanotar	Nandaut	Bhānejā
70. Wi-Br-So	Sālāju, Sālātu		Sālōt	Sālā
71. Wi-Si-So	Sālīju			

72.	So-Wi	Nuhā, Nuhū	Bahū, Nuhā, Nhu Patoh, Patohu	Bahū, Patohū	Buari, Bahu
73.	Hu-Br-Da	Jethāti, Deroṭi		Jethauti, Derauti	
74.	Hu-Si-Da	Nanati		Nandoti	
75.	Wi-Br-Da	Sālāti		Saloti	
76.	Wi-Si-Da	Sālīti			
77.	Father's wife other than ego's mother	Sauteli-māu	Matei, Masak, Matreyā	Sauteli-mā	
78.	Mother's husband other than ego's father		Matreyā Bāp,		
79.	Co-wife	Pahāja	Saukan, Sauṅkaṇa	Saut, Sautin, Sauk	
80.	Co-husband				Same as father
	Father's house } Mother's house }	Pekā	Pekā, Peke	Nahyara, Pihar	
	Mother's father's house	Nānāṇā	Pekā, Peke	Māyakā Nanihāla	
	Husband's father's house	Sāhurā	Susrāl	Sasurāl, Sāsar	
	Woman of a house by marriage	Kuāri		Vahuvār, Bahū	Rānti
	Woman of a house by birth				Dhyānti

	BIHARI	BENGALI	ASSAMI	NEPALI
1. Fa	Bāpā, Pitā, Babuḷī	Bābā	Āp	Bābuwā, Bā, Bābā, Bābū, Bābai, Bubā, Buwā
2. Fa-Fa	Bābā, Dādā, Ājā	Thākurdā, Dādā		Jibā, Jijū-bābu, Barājyū, Bajyā, Bāje
3. Fa-Fa-Fa	Pardādā	Po-mošāy, Baḍobābā		Jijū, Jijyū
4. Mo-Fa	Nānā	Dādā-mošāy, Thākurdā		Jibā, Maulibāje, Maulākobāje
5. Mo-Fa-Fa	Parnānā	Po-mošāy, Baḍobābā		
6. Fa-Br (a) Elder (b) Younger	Pitiyā Cācā, Kākā	Jethā-mošāy, Jethā Kākā, Khuḍā		Jetha-bā, Jetha- bābu, barā-bābu Kākā, Kanchābā, Kanchobābū
7. Mo-Br (a) Elder (b) Younger.	Māmā	Māmā	Māmā	Māmā
8. Mo	Maiyā, Iyā, Āiyā Māyā	Mā	Āi	Amā, Amai, Mahā- tārī, Mā
9. Mo-Mo	Nānī	Didi-mā, Didi		Barāmā
10. Mo-Fa-Mo	Parnānī	Didi, Baḍomā		Jijū, āmā, Jyāmā
11. Fa-Mo	Dādī, Dāi, Ājī	Thākur-mā, did'		Ghara ki bajej (Bajei (bajyai = Grandmother)

12.	Fa-Fa-Mo		Didi, Baḍomā
13.	Fa-Si		
	(a) elder	..	
	(b) younger	..	
14.	Mo-Si	..	
	(a) elder	..	
	(b) younger	..	
15.	Br		
	(a) elder	..	
	(b) younger	..	
16.	Fa-Br-So		
	(a) Older than ego		Jethtāo-bhāi
	(b) Younger than ego	..	Khuḍtāto-bhāi
17.	Fa-Si-So		
	(a) Older than ego		Piśtāto-bhāi
	(b) Younger than ego	..	
18.	Mo-Br-So		
	(a) Older than ego		Mamāto-bhāi
	(b) Younger than ego	..	
19.	Mo-Si-So		
	(a) Older than ego		Māstāto-bhāi
	(b) Younger than ego	..	

Mused-bhāi

		BIHARI	BÈNGALI	ASSAMI	NEPALI
20.	Si	Behan, Bahan	Bon	Bhaṇī	
	(a) Elder	Didī, Jijī	Didī		Didī
	(b) Younger	..			Baiṇī, Bahiṇī
21.	Fa-Br-Da				
	(a) Older than ego	Pitiaut-bahan	Jaṭhtāto-bon		
	(b) Younger than ego	..	Khuḍtato-bon		
22.	Fa-Si-Da				
	(a) Older than ego	Phupheri-bahan	Pishtāto-bon		
	uæʋɳ ɳæʂunoɳ (q)				
	ego	..			
23.	Mo-Br-Da				
	(a) Older than ego	Mameri-bahan	Mamāto-bon		
	(b) Younger than ego	..			
24.	Mo-Si-Da				
	(a) Older than ego	Mauseri-bahan	Maśtāto-bon		
	(b) Younger than ego	..			
25.	So	Beṭā, Pūta	Chele, Po, Pūt, Beṭā	Pūt, Po Beṭā	Sānu kāncho, choro, pūt, Beṭo, Laṛko
26.	Br-So- (man speaking)	Bhatiṇā	Chāi-po	Bhatizā	Bhatijo
27.	Br-So (woman speaking)	Bhatiṇā	Bhāi-po		Bhaḍoho, Bhaḍo

28.	Si-So (man speaking)	..	Bhānjā	Bon-po, Bhāgnī	Bhānij, Bhānic
29.	Si-So (woman speaking)	..	Bhānjā	Bon-po	
30.	So-So		Pota	Nātī	Nātī
31.	So-So-So	..	Par-pota		Panātī, Palātī
32.	Da-So	..		Nātī	
33.	Da-So-So	..			Panti, Palātī (Great-great-grand-son = Khanātī)
34.	Da-Da-So	..			
35.	Da	..	Beṭī, Dhiyari	Meye, Jhī?, Beṭī	Chori, Putri, Beṭī, Laṛkī
36.	Br-Da (man speaking)	..	Bhatijī	Bhāijhī	Bhatijī
37.	Br-Da (woman speaking)	..	Bhatijī	Bhāijhī	
38.	Si-Da (man speaking)	..	Bhānjī	Bonjhī, Bhāgnī	Bhānji
39.	Si-Da (woman speaking)	..	Bhānjī	Bonjhī	
40.	Da-Da	..		Nātini, Nātani	Nātini
41.	Da-Da-Da	..			Panātini, Palātini
42.	Da-So-Da	..			Panātini, Palātini
43.	So-Da	..	Potī	Nātini, Nātani	Nātini

	BIHARI	BENGALI	ASSAMI	NEPALI
44. So-So-Da	.. Par-Potī			Panātinī, Palātinī
45. Fa-Si-Hu	.. Phuphā	Posh-mošāy		Phupājū
46. Hu-Fa	.. Sasur	Śusur-mošāy, Sāsar		Sasuro
47. Wi-Fa	.. Sasur	Śusur-mošāy, Sāsar		Sasuro
48. Mo-Si-Hu	.. Mausā	Maśi-mošāy		Kākā, Kanābā, Kāncō bābu
49. Mo-Br-Wi	.. Māmī	Māmī		Mājū
50. Fa-Br-Wi	.. Cācī, Kākī	Jethī, Kākī		Jethiāmā, Bariāmā, Kākī
51. Hu-Mo	.. Sāsū, Sās	Śāsuri, Sāsuṛī	Xāhu	Sāsubājeī, Sāsū
52. Wi-Mo	.. Sasu, Sas	Shasuri, Sāsuṛi	Xāhu	Sāsubājeī, Sāsū
53. Hu	.. Bhatār, Dulhā	Shāmī, Ogo		Puruṣ, Poī
54. Hu-Br				
(a) Elder	.. Bhāsur	Bhāsur, Jetha	Zethā	Jethā, Jethājyū
(b) Younger	.. Devar	Deur	Dewar	Devar
55. Wi-Br				
(a) Elder	.. Sārā	Śālā, Śammandī		Jethān
(b) Younger	..			Sālo
56. Si-Hu (man speaking)	..			
(a) Elder	.. Jijā	Bonāi	Bhinihī	Bhinājū
(b) Younger	.. Bahan-jamāi		(elder)	Baine

57.	Si-Hu (woman speaking)	..						
	(a) Elder sister's husband	..	Jijā, Pāhuṇā	Bonāi	Bhinihi (elder)			
	(b) Younger sister's husband	..		Bahan-Jamāi				
58.	Hu-Si-Hu	..	Nanadoi	Nandāi			Landebhāi (younger sister's husband)	
59.	Wi-Si-Hu	..	Sādhū	Bhāyṛā-bhāi			Sāṛhū, Sāṛhudājū, (elder sister's husband) Sāṛhubhāi (younger sister's husband)	
60.	So-Wi-Fa	..	Samdhi Samdhi	Byāhi			Samdhi Samdhi	
62.	Wi	..	Mehrāmī, Boh, Dulhan, Gharnī	Strī, Paribār, Bou			Ghar, Gharbār, Joī, Swāsni	
63.	Hu-Si		Nanada	Nonand, Nandā	Nandī		Nandā	
	(a) Elder	..	Didi, Jijī	Didi				
	(b) Younger	..						
64.	Wi-Si						Jethisāsū	
	(a) Elder	..	Didi	Didi				
	(b) Younger		Sārī	Śālī				

		BIHARI	BENGALI	ASSAMI	NEPALI
65.	Br-Wi (man speaking) (a) Elder brother's wife (b) Younger brother's wife	.. Bhaujī, Bhojāi Bhāyāhu ..	Bau-didi Bou-mā	Bau Bowārī	
66.	Br-Wi speaking) (a) Elder brother's wife (b) Younger brother's wife	.. Bhauji, Bhojāi Bhayāhū Gotnī ..	Boudī Boumā Jā	Bau Bowārī	Bhāujū, Bhāujyā
67.	Hu-Br-Wi (a) Husband's elder brother's wife (b) Husband's younger brother's wife	.. Jethānī	Didi		Jethanī
68.	Wi-Br-Wi	..	Śalaj		Deurānī, Dewarānī
69.	So-Wi-Mo	..	Byān		
70.	Da-Hu-Mo	..	Byān		
71.	Da-Hu	..	Jāmāi	Zōwāi	Jowuā
72.	Hu-Br-So	..	Bhāśur-po, Deur-po,		

73.	Hu-Si-So	..	Bhagnī	Bhadaī, Bhaḍahī,
74.	Wi-Br-So	..		Bhaḍoho, Bhaḍo
75.	Wi-Si-Si	..		Buwārī, Buhārī,
76.	So-Wi	..	Baü, Bauhārī, Boü	Bahu
77.	Hu-Br-Da	..	Bhashur-jhi Deur-jhi	
78.	Hu-Si-Da	..		Bhadai, Bhadahi
79.	Wi-Br-Da	..		
80.	Wi-Sr-Da	..		
81.	Father's wife other than ego's mother	..		Dudāmā, Chyāmā
82.	Mother's husband other than ego's father	..	Šot-mā	
83.	Co-wife	..	Šotin	Sautā
84.	Co-husband Father's house Mother's house Mother's father's house	..	Baper Bāḍi	
	Husband's father's house	..		Māwal
	Woman of a house by marriage by birth	..	Bou-jhī	
	Mother's bro- ther's house	..	Mamār Bāḍi	

APPENDIX 2

STATISTICS ABOUT MARRIAGES IN THE VILLAGE OF
BISOKHA

by

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Research Student*
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Bisokha is a small village about 26 miles east of Delhi in Meerut District, Uttar Pradesh. It consists of 65 houses of the following castes — Jat (13), Brahmin (4), Chamar (5), Kumhar (7), Kahar (4), Lohar (6), Nai (1), Balmiki (6), Teli (3), Khatik (9), Khati or Badhai (7). The profession of these castes is as follows: Jat are mostly agriculturists and Zamindars (owners of land); Brahmin are doing priestly duties; Chamar are the shoe makers; Kumhar are potters; Kahar are usually household servants; Lohars are engaged in making most of the agricultural implements and a part of the household articles; Nai is the barber; Balmiki are night soil removers; Khatik are the contractors who buy fruit trees and vegetables and sell the products in the market and Khatis are doing the work of carpenter i.e. they help Lohars in framing the wooden objects needed for agriculture as also the household requirements.

In the following table No. 1 are recorded the number of the marriages per caste as also the number of exogamous units per caste.

Table No. 2 gives the number of the marriages of sons and daughters within the village and outside the village. It appears from the table that all the girls were given outside the village. This is true with all the castes. There were only two instances one each from Kahar and Teli, in which the persons came down to Bisokha from Silarpur in search of employment, got service and married local girls and at present are settled down permanently at Bisokha. At the time of their marriage they were not considered as local people.

Table Number 3 deals with the number of villages from which the brides are brought as also the number of the villages in which the girls are given. It also gives an idea of the number of brides brought from a village as also the number of girls given to

* Mr. K. C. Malhotra was deputed by the Deccan College to gather this data. I express my thanks to him for the work he has done.

Table No. 1

<i>Caste</i>	<i>No. of Families</i>	<i>No. of Marriages</i>	<i>No. of Exogamous units</i>
Jat	13	93	3
Brahmin	4	16	1
Chamar	5	26	2
Kumhar	7	26	1
Kahar	4	16	1
Lohar	6	29	1
Nai	1	5	1
Balmiki	6	30	1
Teli	3	6	1
Khatik	9	36	1
Khati	7	28	1

Table No. 2

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Partners inside the village</i>		<i>Partners outside the village</i>	
	<i>Sex</i>		<i>Sex</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
1. Jat	Nil	Nil	All	All
2. Brahmin	"	"	"	"
3. Chamar	"	"	"	"
4. Kumhar	"	"	"	"
5. Kahar	1	1	—	—
6. Lohar	Nil	Nil	All	All
7. Nai	"	"	"	"
8. Balmiki	"	"	"	"
9. Teli	1	1	—	—
10. Khatik	Nil	Nil	All	All
11. Khati	"	"	"	"

a village. Besides, it indicates the number of families in which a bride has been taken from a village where a girl has been given as a bride.

It is possible to arrive at the following conclusions from the foregoing table.

In all the different castes which make up the Bisokha village it is noticed that the villages from which brides are taken are different from the villages in which the daughters are given. This

Table No. 3

<i>Caste</i>	<i>No. of villages from which brides have been brought</i>	<i>No. of families who brought more than one bride from the same village.</i>	<i>No. of villages in which girls have been given</i>	<i>No. of families who gave more than one girl in the same village</i>	<i>No. of families in which a bride has been taken from a village in which a girl had been given</i>
Jat	54	4	31	1	Nil
Brahmin	9	1	5	—	"
Chamar	15	—	7	—	"
Kumhar	15	—	8	1	"
Kahar	9	—	9	2	"
Lohar	18	1	9	2	"
Nai	5	—	—	—	"
Balmiki	14	—	13	1	1
Teli	5	—	1	—	Nil
Khatik	19	1	13	1	"
Khati	13	—	3	—	"

rule has been maintained very well in all the castes except Balmiki. There was, however, only one case in which the bride was brought from the village in which the daughter had been given.

It seems that generally one daughter is given or taken as a bride from a particular village. However, there appears to be no taboo against giving or taking more than one bride from a single village, yet it seems it is not preferred. In the case of Chamar, Teli and Khatik there is no evidence of this practice. But in other castes it has been practised. Among Jats there are four families who brought two brides from four different villages. For instance Maluka Singh's family brought two brides from the village Dhadhre (Dist: Meerut); Risal Singh's family took two brides from Badegaon (Dist: Meerut) whereas Charan Singh's family and Mukhtar Singh's family selected two brides from the village Made (Dist: Meerut) and Patholi (Dist: Meerut) respectively. Other castes have also shown this as an occasional practice as is seen from the table.

These data were collected between August 21 to 27, 1962. It shows that in the northern area the practice of village exogamy still holds good. The brides are taken from a set of villages which are generally different from the set of villages into which the girls are given.

No marriages among kins were observed among these people.

APPENDIX 3

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA FROM BACHHAMDI NEAR BHARATPUR COLLECTED BY SHRI R. S. RAWAT

by
K. C. Malhotra,
Research Student,
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The present study is the result of an investigation carried out in the village of Bachhamdi near Bharatpur in Uttar Pradesh. The data were collected by Shri K. S. Rawat, M.A., Lecturer in Sociology, and were sent to the present writer for further treatment. I am highly thankful to Shri K. S. Rawat for allowing me to use the data.

The study presents a few interesting points regarding the marriage rules etc., as revealed in 27 Jat families in which 225 marriages in all were involved.

There was no marriage within the village. In all the cases brides were brought from outside the village and the girls were given outside the village.

In this village 208 separate named villages are involved in the 225 marriage transactions. If a girl was given or taken from a village other than their own, the expected number of separate named villages would have been 225, but it is not so. Therefore we will have to account for 17 marriages to make up the total of 225 villages. It is noticed that in 9 cases two brides were brought from a single village whereas in the case of 5 families two daughters were given in the same village; lastly in one family a girl has been given in a village from which a bride was taken.

Though it seems that generally one daughter is given or taken as a bride from a particular village, there is no taboo against giving or taking more than one bride from a single village as is evidenced by 14 families. In 9 cases two brides were brought from one village whereas in 5 other cases two daughters were given in the same village.

It appears that the brides are given to a set of villages which are generally different from the set of villages from which the girls are taken. However, there is one family which is an exception to this rule. In eight other villages a daughter was given by a family whereas a bride was brought from the same village by another family.

Among Rajputs it seems that the rule for taking or giving a bride depends upon the direction and thus girls are only taken from the east while boys come from the west. The present investigation reveals that, at least in the village of Bacchamdi, the giving or taking of a girl is not governed by the direction, that is, a bride can be brought from any direction and a girl can be given to any direction.

CHAPTER IV

THE KINSHIP ORGANIZATION OF THE CENTRAL ZONE

The central zone comprises the following linguistic regions: (1) Rajasthan where Rajasthani is spoken, (2) Madhya Pradesh where Hindi is spoken, (3) Gujarat and Kathiawad where Gujarati and Kathiawadi are spoken, (4) Maharashtra where Marathi is spoken and (5) Orissa where Uriya is spoken.



Rajasthani, Hindi, Gujarati, Kathiawadi, Marathi and Uriya are all languages of Sanskritic origin and so from the point of view of the languages spoken this zone has affinity to the northern zone. But within this zone there are large pockets of people speaking

languages of the Dravidian family and also some areas where Austro-Asiatic languages are spoken.

Every one of the above regions contains primitive tribes at all stages of assimilation to the predominant agricultural economy of the zone. There are some tribes like the Korkus in north central Maharashtra who are still in the stage of food-gatherers and dependent hunters while there are others like Bhils who are indifferent agriculturists and Kolams and Warlis who are skilled rice-growers. The map above gives the names and locations of the various primitive tribes. How much of the present population of this zone is made up of these tribes we need not discuss in the present context but there is no doubt that that element must have been of great influence towards shaping the kinship pattern of the various regions of this zone.

The central zone lies between the northern and the southern zones and includes some regions of the eastern zones. It is influenced by all these but the influences of the three zones on it are not uniform. This lack of uniformity is due to the history of the various regions within the zone as also to the topography of the zone. The northern zone is an alluvium formed by the rivers flowing from the Himalayas into the Bay of Bengal. The massive barrier of the Himalayas shuts it off in the north and from west to east it is a uniform plain without any hills. The only natural barriers are the tributaries of the river Ganga. The central zone on the other hand is traversed by different mountain systems from north to south (the Aravali and the Sahyadri) and from west to east (the Vindhya and the Satpura) which have cut it up into separate areas where intercommunication is possible only along certain routes. The existence of forests and mountains has affected the migrations of people from north to south and has also affected the settlements of the agricultural castes which are the backbone of the northern, central and southern zones. The semi-desert tract of western Rajputana adds to the geographical complexity of this zone.

It is not possible therefore to describe the regions in this zone collectively as was done for the north and so after describing some of the features of the kinship organization found in this zone a more detailed account is given for two of its regions.

As regards kinship organization every region enumerated above, besides following the northern practices described in the previous chapter, also has certain castes which show a new type of mating — the marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter,

which is the same as the marriage of a girl to her father's sister's son. In some regions this marriage is practised by only a few castes while in one region at least it is preferred by the majority of castes. The second feature in the kinship organization of this zone is that many of the castes are divided into exogamous clans. The third is that among some castes the exogamous clans are arranged in a hypergamous hierarchy, i.e., a girl in a lower clan can marry a man of a higher clan but a girl in a higher clan may not marry a man in a lower clan. Of these three features, we have seen the existence of hypergamy in some of the castes in the northern zone but there is reason to believe that the northern hypergamy is an imitation of the system followed by the Rajputs who spread all over northern India as conquerors from the 6th century of the Christian era.

None of the features enumerated above are found all over the zone, nor all over a single region within the zone. There is however one region, i.e., Maharashtra which has the three features more widely spread than all the other regions. The kinship terminology of Maharashtra though mainly Sanskritic in origin uses concepts which are not found among other regions where Sanskritic languages are spoken and which can be understood only by a reference to the kinship organization and kinship terms used in the southern zone.

Because of the wide variation of behaviour in the regions, they are treated separately in this chapter. Madhya Pradesh is a southward thrust of the Hindi speaking population of the Uttar Pradesh. It follows the kinship pattern of the north and is therefore not described here.¹

(1) *Rajasthan*

Rajasthan is divided into an eastern and a western portion divided by the Aravali ranges. Western Rajasthan is a semi-desert country where the peasant population is always on the brink of famine and where scarcity of water is perennial. Eastern Rajasthan also suffers from water scarcity but the hills preserve it from the sands blowing across the western desert. There are a few places which are still forested and a few fertile belts where corn grows. In some favourable spots are beautiful man-made lakes which support a considerable population. East or west it is a very picturesque land showing some of the most ancient and weathered surfaces on the earth. It is a tract without much rain or forest except where it meets the central Indian forests of the

Vindhyan ranges. The population, whether fighters, merchants or agriculturists, is ever on the move and has gone to the farthest corners of India to make its fortunes. Most of the ruling houses in India claim Rajput blood, and there is hardly a province where the Marwari trader does not have his shop and every year hundreds of agriculturists wander out of their waterless tract to seek work southwards into Gujarat or northwards into the Punjab and U.P.

The major communities in Rajasthan are the Rajput, the Jat and the Marwari Bania. The Jat is an agricultural caste of South Punjab and Delhi and northern Rajasthan. People of this caste practise village exogamy and do not allow marriages of cousins. The various Bania or Vaishya castes generally follow the northern practices and the rule of four *gotras* and four *jātis*. These have already been illustrated while dealing with the northern zone.

The Rajputs are the fighters and the ruling caste in Rajasthan. They are organized into an elaborate system of hypergamous clans, super-clans called Bansa (Sanskrit—*vaṁśa*) and *gotras*. The rough scheme of this structure is as follows.²

There are three main lines and one subsidiary line of descent among Rajput clans. These are: (1) the descendants of the Sun, (2) the descendants of the Moon, (3) those belonging to the Fire, and (4) those descended from the Naga, i.e., serpents.

The Sun-line or the Suryabansi trace their descent from the ancient house of Ayodhya in which, Rama, the hero of Ramayana was born. The Moon-line of the Chandra-bansa claiming descent from the moon, trace their ancestry to Shri Kṛṣṇa or the Pandavas. The families in the Fire-line are supposed to have arisen out of the sacrificial fire of the sage Vasishtha on the mountain Abu and the Naga-line claim to be descendents of the famous Naga rulers like Takshaka whose stories are given together with the Pandava story in Mahabharata. Each line is divided into numerous clans and sub-clans. The major clans can marry among one another but the sub-clans of one major clan do not intermarry. Thus the Surya-bansa has three major clans or *Kula*: (A) the Guhilot, (B) the Kachhawaha, and (C) the Rathod. These can marry each other.

The Moon-line, i.e., Chandrabansa is also divided into clans which in turn are divided into sub-clans.

The Fire-line or Agnibansa has four main clans among whom the Chauhans and Paramars are famous.

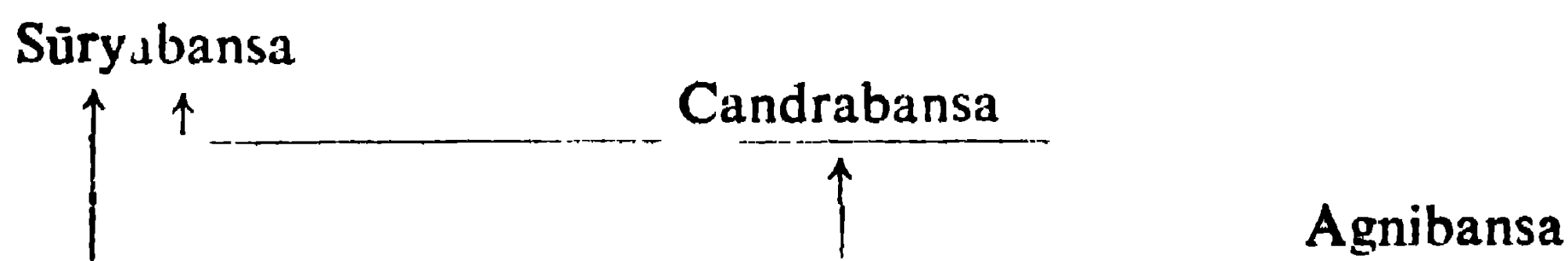
The Nagabansa or Serpent-line has but few clans found in a very few places, though in medieval inscriptions kings calling them-

selves Nagas are mentioned. The Nagas ruled around Mathura and parts of U.P. and central India in the 4th century A.D. One of the sub-clans of the Nagas, calling itself Sind seems to have ruled in some districts of Maharashtra and Andhra from the 10th to the 14th century.

All the clans have *gotras*, i.e., names of the *rishis* attached to them. These *gotras* do not seem to be of ancient origin, nor do they seem to have a function as regards marriage.³ They seem to have been borrowed from the Brahmins as so many other castes have done.

As already pointed out the *bansa* (line) and the clans or *kula* are arranged in a hypergamous structure in which the Sun-line is higher than the Moon-line, which in turn is higher than the Fire-line. The Serpent-line is lower than both the Sun and the Moon lines but what position it holds *vis-à-vis* the Fire-line is not quite clear.

A careful study of the names of the clans reveals that the Rajput caste does not represent one homogeneous tribe. It seems to be made up of various Central Asiatic tribes of Scythian origin and some pastoral tribes of Indian Aryan origin. The hypergamous arrangement reflects possibly various social relationships. One is the purity and nobility of descent and the second is the fact of being a hero and a ruler. According to the popular theory the Suryabansa gave its daughters to Suryabansa Rajputs only while it received daughters from the other lines. The Chandrabansa gave its daughters to Suryabansa and received from Agnibansa and Nagabansa, while Agnibansa could give daughters to others but could receive from none.



(The arrows show the giving of daughters)

The girls went up the social ladder. This theoretical position is not very strictly adhered to in practice inasmuch as one finds exchange of daughters among different *Bansas*. What one does find however is that there is always a certain order of nobility and though ruling houses may give or take daughters occasionally in different clans, the number of clans from which girls are received in marriage is always greater than those to which one gives

daughters in marriage, in the case of clans with a high status. The ladder-like structure of the clans also established certain claims as regards marriage. A girl married into a higher family hoped to bring another girl of her patri-family as a bride to the heir. The bride's family jealously guarded this privilege of providing brides to a given family and so we have cases of one-way cross-cousin marriages in each generation as is illustrated in the ruling house of Jodhpur where a princess of the Bhati (Bhaṭṭi?) family of Jaisalmer has been given in marriage to a prince of Jodhpur for the last few generations. A perusal of the history of the Jodhpur clan shows that a majority of the rulers of this State had a Bhati princess as one of their queens. This relationship is brought out in a proverb which says that a girl goes into the same house as her father's sister (*phāī pāchhal bhatrijī jāve*). The other type of cross-cousin marriage is not allowed among Rajputs. A woman does not marry her mother's brother's son. This type of marriage is supposed to lower the status of a girl.

A sketch has already been given illustrating the ladder-like arrangement of the Rajput clans. The actual arrangement is not quite so simple because there is more than one family on each step of the social ladder, while the exact position of many is in dispute. Girls either marry into families on the same step or into those which are above them. How far up the social ladder a girl can marry will depend on several things. Extraordinary beauty has always helped women to go up the social ladder by marriage, but there are limits to this transaction. A man — even a king — could not raise a woman to this status unless she belonged to certain well-recognized groups. He could never, for example, marry an untouchable and the chances of other humble castes were remote, while those of Rajputs were the best.

In theory the status of the child is the same as the status of the father; in practice the status depends to some extent on the status of the mother too. A king with many wives has sons who have different status depending on the status of their mothers. In a society where children died in great numbers there was always the chance of the son of a woman of low status surviving others and becoming the ruling prince and thus raising the prestige of his mother's group.

The question of status is discussed most explicitly in old literature, but actually in a fighting community personal valour, acquisition of territory and legitimacy of birth gave a man enough status to aspire to the highest honour. Even so, however, a man of

humble origin could not ordinarily aspire to the hand of a girl of the highest clan. Such an occurrence led either to feuds or formed the theme for romantic songs.

In cases where a bride-price is not received, the compensation is not merely higher social esteem but also material gains in indirect ways. Attention was drawn to the part played by the wife's brother in Sanskrit literature and among the northern people. The same role is again seen in Rajput history. A girl married into a ruling family tries to get her relatives appointed to different posts. If her husband dies leaving an infant son, her father's people become very powerful and sometimes usurp the kingdom. The *sālā* is here too a word of contempt. The dichotomy of relatives between one's own people and the wife's people, the father's people and the mother's people is not diminished by the cross-cousin marriage, but is sharpened in many cases because of it and because of the status-problem it involves.

During the early middle ages Rajputs spread all over India and are found today in large numbers in all the regions of the northern and central zones. In each region they have taken brides from local people and are thus considered to be of mixed origin, with the result that from Rajputana to Bihar the status of Rajput clans, whatever origin (the Sun, Moon or Fire) they may claim, becomes lower and lower the more easterly their region. The Rajputs of Bihar are lower in status than those of eastern U.P., who in turn are lower than those of western U.P. These occupy a humbler position as against the clans in Rajputana who thus stand above all Rajputs in the rest of India. The rough rule for marriage is given in the saying "the girl from the East, the boy from the West." (*pūrab kī betī, pacchim kā betā*).⁴

Anthropological literature on India is full of descriptions of castes and sub-castes of India and everyone has noted the tendency of castes to split into smaller units. But the reverse process has also been going on in India. In such a process new folk-elements coming as conquerors or new settlers have absorbed original elements and later settlers and welded all into one loose caste group. The two most notable examples of such a process are the Rajputs of Rajasthan and the Marathas of Maharashtra. Both these are fighting confederacies. As warriors they accepted daughters from the conquered group but did not give theirs in return. They thus came to have a hypergamous structure of society.

The hypergamous marriage can exist without cross-cousin marriage as it does in fact in the case of certain Northern Brahmin

castes and among certain Gujarat castes and among Rajputs themselves. The cross-cousin marriage by which a man marries his mother's brother's daughter is not a compulsory form of marriage among Rajputs but it is quite frequent and is mentioned in many stories about the ruling houses of Rajasthan, Kathiawad and Gujarat.

This type of marriage develops a relationship among certain families where one family gives daughters and the other receives them. The hypergamy is such that the givers are socially inferior to the receivers. The degree of inferiority may be so great that sometimes the groom does not go personally to the bride's village for the marriage ceremony but sends his sword to represent him. D. N. MAJUMDAR notes that this urge to give daughters into higher families is so great that among the families of the highest status many girls have to remain spinsters as they cannot find grooms of their own status without a dowry. The boys in this status group generally have more than one wife. In the lower-status group on the other hand there are many bachelors who have to content themselves with the elder brother's widow or who practise virtual polyandry. The marriage of a man to his *māmā*'s (mother's brother's) daughter seems to be a result of the impact and subsequent absorption of the northern people with some southern people, who already had the practice of cross-cousin marriage. Possibly the northern conquerors accepted brides from the southern people but refused to give their daughters in return and so we get the central zone of culture contact where such a marriage is found among castes which are arranged in a hierarchical fashion. We also find that throughout the south wherever only one type of cross-cousin marriage (that of a man to his mother's brother's daughter) exists to the exclusion of the other type (that of a man to his father's sister's daughter), there is always some claim to social superiority, or to the rank of the Kshatriya (warrior) rank or to an immigration from the north.

This surmise is further strengthened by the data for Maharashtra. Before, however, dealing with Maharashtra it is necessary to describe in short the pattern for the region of Kathiawad and Gujarat. The kinship terminology of the linguistic regions in the central zone is given in the table of the kinship terms.

It will be seen that it is almost identical with the northern terminology, except that in the case of certain castes, the term for mother's brother viz. *māmo* or *māmā* is used also for the wife's father besides the usual northern term *sasrā*. This new usage of

the term *māmo* agrees well with the custom of the marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter. The custom of levirate is found among many people of the lower castes. In Gujarat the word *dīyar* (husband's younger brother) is used as a term of abuse of an obscene kind. Among almost all castes there is permission for a man to marry his wife's younger sister. The elder sister is on the other hand a tabooed relation and among some sections is called *pāṭlā hāu* i.e. the mother-in-law to whom one gives a seat of honour (the *pāṭ*). Some of the Gujarati terms are similar to the Marathi terms. The terms for son's and daughter's father-in-law and mother-in-law are *vevahi* and *vevaṇ* (from Sanskrit *vaiivāhika* = one who marries), and are like the Marathi terms *vyāhī* and *vihiṇ*. Though Gujarati has different terms for grandfather, the word *ājā* in the expression *ājā-padāvā* is the same as Marathi *ājā*. Instead of the northern word *nanihāl* (the house of the mother's father) the Gujarati word is *mosāl* (the house of the mother's brother). The word *vīr* is used for brother in Gujarati and Rajasthan folk-songs. The expression *māḍi jāyo vīr* is used for an own brother. It means a brother born of the same mother. Gujarat and Maharashtra have many folk-songs and folk-tales in common, some of them almost identical. The folk-songs and folk-tales which tell of the *māmā's* house seem not to have been frequent in Gujarat. Maharashtra shares them with Karnatak.

(2) Kathiawad and Gujarat⁵

Towards the south the hills of Rajasthan merge gradually into the north Gujarat plain which is a treeless tract of undulating dunes of yellow sandy loam. This loamy sand yields rich crops wherever it is watered but presents an arid appearance away from its inundation lakes and the few rivers which cut through it.

At present Kathiawad is connected with north Gujarat and Kutch by a shallow belt of land which is inundated in the floods and which has a chain of salt lakes in the dry seasons of the year. North-eastern Kathiawad is a flat plain and presents an arid appearance with its salt-flats. The rest of Kathiawad contains the volcanic trap formation and black soil of Maharashtra. Its coastal strip is fertile. In spite of a long coast-line it has very few good harbours, it is sparsely populated now but it has a history of prosperous trade and great kingdoms in the early middle ages.

Kathiawad and northern and central Gujarat have some purely nomadic pastoral castes which live in a symbiotic relation with the agricultural castes. In dress, bearing and social life they are very

different from the surrounding population. Ahirs or Ayars are found in Kathiawad and the borders of Gujarat. Rabari are found especially in what was formerly the Baroda State and Bharwad are found in the northern and central Gujarat, east of the Rabaris. The Ahirs in historical times used to wander right up to the borders of Sind. Castes bearing the names of Ahirs and following pastoral pursuits are found in Maharashtra, Central India, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Ahir is a clan name among Marathas and Rajputs. Probably they represent a wave of post-Christian immigration into India of some Central Asiatic pastoral people. Bharwad too seem to be a purely Gujarat caste. The women of these castes dress in a fashion which is akin to that of the people of Rajasthan and consists of a skirt and a bodice with a wrap to cover the head and shoulders. The other communities of Gujarat like the Bania and Kanbi (the traders and the agriculturists) dress in an entirely different way. All the ruling houses of Kathiawad and Gujarat are of Rajput extraction. A small caste called Kathi have given their name to Kathiawad, its ancient name being Saurashtra. Besides these castes there are Kolis who are spread throughout Kathiawad and Gujarat and the Dheds who are found in Gujarat. Both these castes are very widespread in Maharashtra also and very probably represent an old stratum of population in these regions of the central zone. The Dhed Vankar are known as Dhed in northern Maharashtra but their more common name is Mahar. A glance at the map will show that Bhil are one of the most numerous of the primitive tribes of this zone and have spread through Rajasthan, Central India, Gujarat and Maharashtra. It is thus found in four separate linguistic regions.

As regards kinship organization Kathiawad and Gujarat show the northern practices as also the custom of cross-cousin marriage of the type where a man marries his mother's brother's daughter. Besides these, Gujarat has certain customs peculiar to some of its castes. The most important among these is that of periodic marriages. Certain castes like the Bharwad allowed marriages once a year; certain others, like the Kadva Kanbi, in the recent past allowed marriages once every four, five, nine or twelve years.⁶ When the marriage year arrived, it was announced from village to village and there was a rush to perform marriages. Little infants in arms got married on such occasions. Pregnant women went through the ceremony of marriage on behalf of the child they were carrying. If the children of two such women happened to be of the same sex the marriage was null and void, but if they were

of different sex the marriage was binding. Sometimes quite unsuited pairs like a grown up man and an infant girl or a grown up woman and an infant boy got married on such occasions. Later on such marriages were dissolved and each partner could then enter into a new alliance called 'Nāntrā' which did not require the help of a priest or an auspicious time.⁷

The custom of levirate by which the widow either lives with or marries the younger brother of her husband is found among the lower castes of Gujarat. Folk-tales, proverbs and songs bear ample testimony to this custom though people get angry at such an enquiry. The word *bhābhī* used for elder brother's wife is a respectful term in modern times, but it was not so during medieval times where it was taken as an insulting mode of address for a respectable woman. A story tells that a woman so addressed by a king burnt herself and her curse destroyed the whole line of the king.⁸ In the story the term *bhābhī* is contrasted to the terms *ben* (sister) and *mā* (mother) which are the proper terms of address by a stranger to an unknown woman. Just as a man must not use the term *bhābhī* for a woman so also the term *diyar* is not used by a woman for a stranger except in abuse.

All over India, in all languages there are songs about an old man married to a very young girl. Even R̥gveda has a fling at such a match. Gujarat has its own quota of such songs, but besides these it has songs about another sort of an ill-matched pair—that of a grown up woman and an infant boy. In such songs the women gathered at the village well are depicted as asking the bride solicitously if her boy husband was sleeping in his cradle while she came away to the village well, whether he had enough playthings and whether he cried too much. When I first heard the songs⁹ I thought they referred to a social situation arising out of levirate, whereby a widow passes on as wife to an infant brother of her dead husband. Further enquiry however showed that such a marriage on many occasions is the first marriage of a woman. I was told by a reliable informant in Ahmedabad that in such a household the father of the boy lives with the bride and the children born of the union are fathered on the little boy. When the boy comes of age he marries a woman more suited to him. I have not come across such a family, nor heard a song or a story depicting the behaviour of kin in such a household. The custom of periodic marriages is fast dying out and so it would be difficult to find such households which, even in old days, must have been rather exceptional.

In Gujarat and Kathiawad the Brahmins, the Banias, the Kanbis and the higher artisan castes follow the northern pattern of kinship organization but even among these there are certain practices which seem to be of southern origin. One such practice is the custom of sending a girl to her father's home for confinement. Among Anavil Brahmins of south Gujarat this is an invariable rule and it is found among many other castes also. The Brahmins and the Banias are divided into innumerable sub-castes which are so small that it does not seem possible to stick to the rule of not marrying close relations. Enquiry showed that the marriage in one's own patrilineage was not allowed but one could marry a cross-cousin removed by two, preferably by three degrees (i.e., the grand-children or the great grand-children of a brother and a sister can marry).

There are however other castes among whom cross-cousin marriage is allowed and who use the words *māmājī* and *māmījī* for the wife's or husband's father and mother. Among the Kathi, the Ahir, the Gadhava Charan (a minstrel caste) and the Garasia (a lower type of the Rajput caste), it was not uncommon for a man to marry his mother's brother's daughter. In this context I was told the proverb *phāī pāchhal bhatrījī jāve* (a girl follows the father's sister as bride into a house) both in Kathiawad and Gujarat.

The Koli and the Dhed were the castes and Bhil, a tribe, most difficult to assess. Some appeared to allow both types of cross-cousin marriage, i.e., a man may marry either the mother's brother's daughter or the father's sister's daughter. Some allowed only the first type while the others flatly denied the existence of such a custom and told me that they did not allow marriages among any blood-relations. Some of the Koli songs I heard refer to cross-cousins as lovers. Kolis are found all over the region in different occupations. They and the Dhed and Bhil tend to imitate the social norms of the higher castes and the educated urbanized sections among these castes pattern their behaviour on that of the higher castes. Still there is no doubt at all that these three castes representing perhaps the original population of the central zone practise cross-cousin marriage and that the kinship terms in consequence are also modified in the use they are put to.

(3) *Maharashtra*

The very fact that the central zone lies between the northern and southern zones gives each of its linguistic areas a far greater

variety than is found either in the northern or the southern zone. Rajasthan and Gujarat illustrate an area in which a majority of castes follow the northern pattern with certain modifications and where a few castes practise the custom of a man marrying his mother's brother's daughter. The terminology is Sanskritic in origin and some terms, which are non-Sanskritic, do not have a Dravidian origin but may be of Central Asiatic derivation.

Maharashtra on the other hand is an area where the Sanskritic northern traits and the Dravidian southern traits almost hold a balance with perhaps a slight predominance for the former. Maharashtra, the country where the language spoken is Marathi, lies athwart the middle portion of India from the Arabian sea on the west to the eastern forests and hills near Orissa on the east. To the north of this area, though the languages spoken are officially northern languages like Gujarati, Rajasthani, Nimadi and Hindi, there is a vast belt of broken mountain ranges (the Satpura and the Vindhya) and forests which harbour many primitive tribes which speak Mundari and Dravidian languages mixed with the Sanskritic languages enumerated above. To the south and the south-east, Maharashtra is bounded by plain fertile country and populous areas where the two Dravidian languages Kannada and Telugu are spoken. Inscriptions and records show that parts of Maharashtra, Karnatak and Andhra were ruled by the Satavahana kings for seven centuries, by Chalukya kings for 250 years and by Rashtrakuta kings for a similar period as one kingdom or empire. Geographically and politically it was an area of cultural contacts and this fact is reflected in the social institutions of Maharashtra.

In Maharashtra the caste structure is a little different from either the southern or the northern Zone. The Marathas¹⁰ and the Kunbis together form about forty per cent of the population. The Marathas are supposed to be higher in status but a rich Kunbi can reach the Maratha status as a proverb shows. The two groups call themselves Kshatriya. In western Maharashtra all those who were listed as Kunbi some fifty and twenty-five years ago now call themselves Maratha. In eastern and northern Maharashtra the Kunbis, though retaining the caste name Kunbi, also like to call themselves Kshatriyas. This Maratha-Kunbi complex, though neither educationally advanced nor wealthy, has always been conscious of itself as a fighting and a ruling class. The Maratha wars against Aurangzeb heightened this feeling and even today the headman or Pāṭil of most villages is a Maratha. There is no doubt at all that this class has assimilated various ethnic strains and that

though they go by one name there are various endogamous groups within it. In spite of this however this class represents the cultural traits of Maharashtra and its practices and family-names are taken up by most of the lower castes.

In northern Maharashtra (the basins of the rivers Tapi, Purna, Vardha and Vainganga) there are many Kunbi castes each subdivided into exogamous clans. Some of these admit having the custom of levirate, some have a taboo on cousin marriage, while some practise cross-cousin marriage. In central Maharashtra where the Marathas are the dominant caste, one type of cross-cousin marriage and hypergamous clan organization is almost the rule, while in southern Maharashtra there are instances of both types of cross-cousin marriage, as also of uncle-niece marriage among some castes.

The clan organization of the Marathas has some similarities with that of the Rajputs. They have not the elaborate mythology associated with the origin of the Rajput clans, but many clans claim to be Rajput in origin and so naturally claim also the mythological origin of the Rajputs. Some of the names of the Marathas are similar to the dynastic names of the kingdoms after the 8th century of this era. These are: Shelar (Shilahar of north Konkan), Kadam (Kadamba of south Konkan), Shinde¹¹ (Sind of Sinnar in Nasik District), Chalake (Chalukya). Against these are such names as Chavhan, Powar, Salunke which seem to be derived from the Rajput clan-names like Chauhan, Parmar, Solanki, etc. There are some names which are also claimed to be names of ancient dynasties like the name Moré which some have derived from Maurya, which seems to be a little far-fetched. This name seems to belong to the third type of clan names which are very numerous. These are names of animals, qualities or artefacts. Thus there are clans called Vāgh (the tiger), Moré (the peacock), Kāl-bhor (the black), Pāṇḍhre (the white), Kudale (the pick), Kurhāḍe (the axe) etc. There are many clan-names besides these. There does not seem always to be any totemistic connection between the clan and the animal name it bears, though it is reported that sometimes the flesh of the animal is not eaten by the clan which bears the name.

The rule of exogamy is however not dependent on the clan-name but on the symbol connected with the clan. This symbol is called 'Devaka'. Devaka may be any living thing or an artefact. Pāṇkaṇis — a kind of grass, Kaṭyār — a javelin, Panch-pālvi — the leaves of five particular trees, are some of the Devakas. They

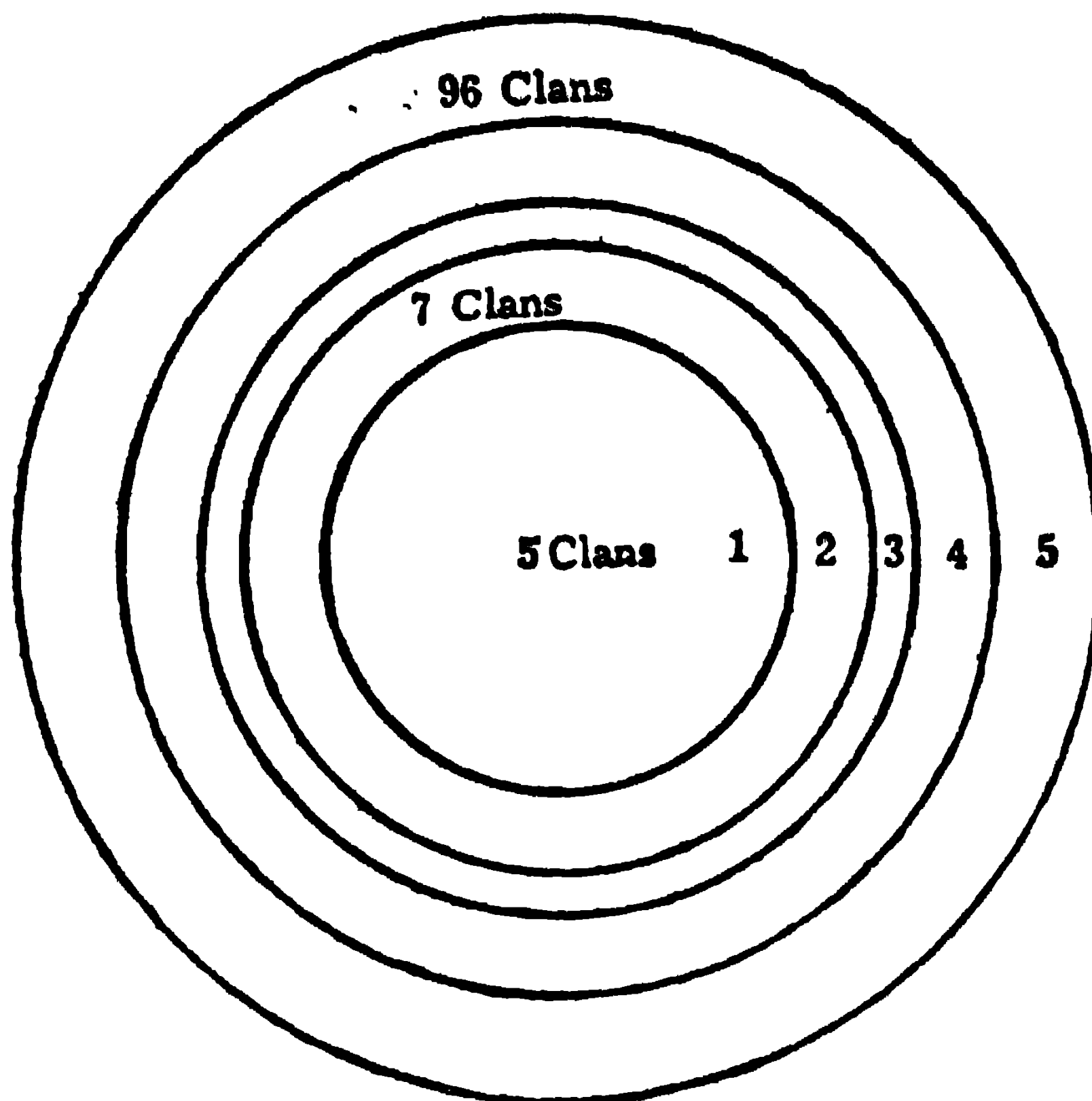
seem to have very little significance in ordinary life but each family worships its 'Devaka' at the time of marriage and no two people having the same 'Devaka' can marry. Very few people seem to carry the name of the 'Devaka' as their family name. The 'Devaka' is not known to many people; it is however known to the elders who look into these matters at the time of the marriage.

The clans and the Devakas both play a part in marriage. The rule of 'Devaka'-exogamy has already been stated. Those clans which have the same Devaka do not marry. The function of the clans in marriage depends on the status of a clan. The Maratha clans are arranged in a hypergamous system. All those who are supposed to be true Marathas belong to ninety-six clans. The actual lists given by Maratha writers however generally contain more than ninety-six names. Among these ninety-six there are concentric circles of nobility and status. The highest are called 'Panchkuli' — "of the five clans". These are the clans of Jadhav, More, Shirke, Pawar, etc. The next division is "seven clans" which includes Bhosle and so on.

The rule for marriage is that the five (the central circle p. 178) can marry among themselves or can marry girls from the other clans but do not give their daughters to any one outside of the five clans. The 'seven-clan' division can marry among themselves, or can give their daughters to the "five-clan" or receive girls from all the rest except "the five-clan" division. Thus the hypergamous clan arrangement is like that of the Rajputs and Khatri of northern India. But the totemistic exogamous Devakas seem to have analogies only with the southern exogamous groupings described later. The difference between the Rajput arrangement and this is that among the Rajputs the Suryabansa, the Chandrabansa, etc., are exclusive of each other, while here each inner circle is contained in the larger circle. The five-clan are part of the seven-clan and of the 96-clan. Not so the Bansa, except that they all belong to the same Rajput caste. They can be represented visually on a ladder but not as concentric circles. Like the Rajputs the Marathas seem to be made up of various ethnic elements some considering themselves to be higher in status than the others.

Unlike the castes in the northern zone most of the communities in Maharashtra have no marriage taboo based on bilateral kinship. Besides the taboo on the own brothers and sisters, a person must not marry the parallel maternal cousin or the parallel paternal cousin. In northern and central Maharashtra there is also a taboo against the marriage of a man to his paternal cross-cousin, i.e.,

his father's sister's daughter. There is a general preference for a man's marriage to his maternal cross-cousin, i.e., his mother's brother's daughter. Sisters can and do marry the same man.

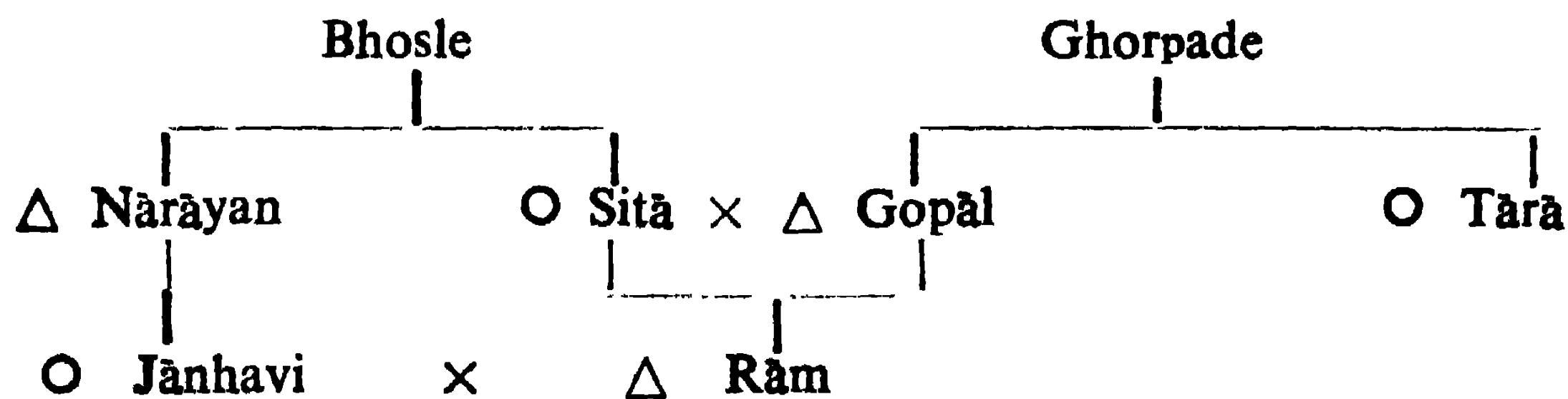


Although there is no taboo, there is a definite prejudice against two brothers marrying two sisters. Levirate is found among northern Kunbis and other castes (Tirole, Govari, etc.), but is not tolerated in the rest of Maharashtra. In medieval literature there are separate words for elder and younger brother-in-law (husband's brother) but they have fallen into disuse now. A man can marry his wife's younger sister but not the elder sister. With the latter his behaviour is very respectful and circumspect, while with the former he may cut any jokes he pleases.

As regards the preference for one type of cross-cousin marriage and taboo against the other, the following reasons are given. One should marry as far as possible in a family with which one is connected by former ties of marriage. This is called *padar lāgaṇe*, i.e., as far as the end of the *sārī* (cloth worn by women) can be traced. If one can establish that a bride was given or taken from a family either in a direct or an indirect way at some time in the past, then one can contract an alliance with it. Supposing there is a proposal of marriage from a family X, who have a girl, to a family Y, who have a marriageable boy, the family will first try to

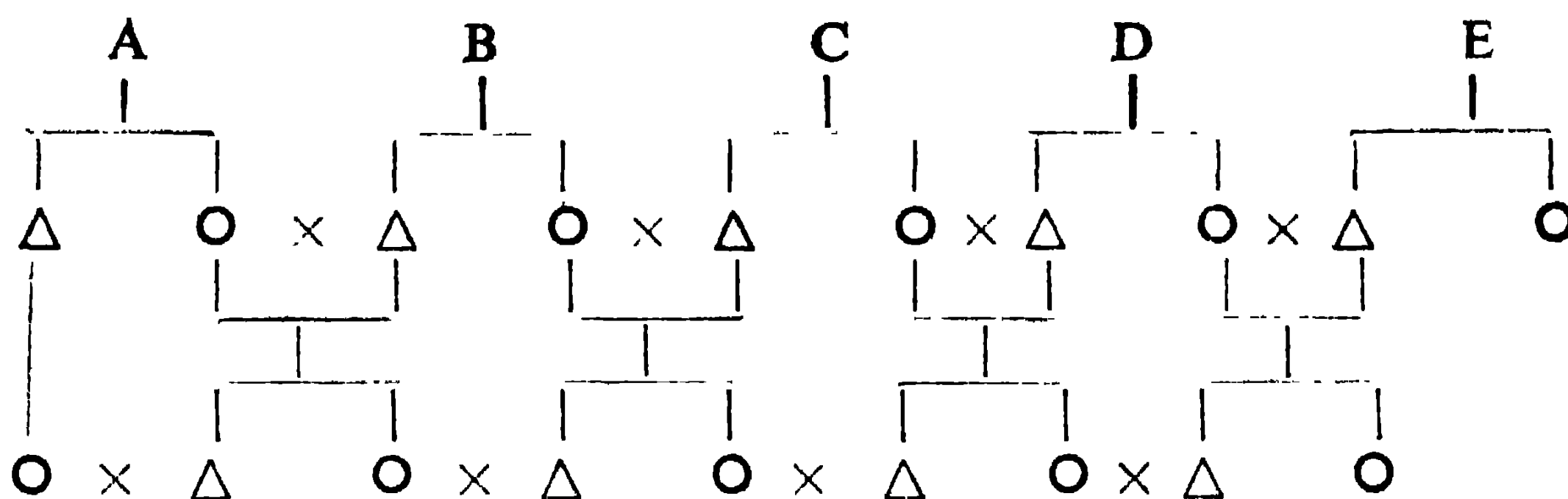
find out if a bride was ever received from or given to the X family. Failing this they will try to find out whether any of the families say N, P or R with whom they are connected by marriage, have had a marriage transaction with the family X. If such a transaction is traced then a bride can be received from the said family. The second consideration is about the social status of the family. People endeavour to give their daughters into a higher social grade and are willing to receive one from a lower grade, but are not willing to offer their daughters as brides to those of the lower status and do not easily get brides who are born in a family higher than theirs. Of the two families X and Y the question as to who gives daughters as brides to whom depends on the status of the two families. If both belong to the same status, say the five-clans mentioned above, each can receive brides from the other; but if they belong to different grades the one on the higher grade, i.e., the five-clan group, will receive a daughter from the lower (the seven-clan) group.

The two customs taken together evolve a certain pattern. The necessity of establishing former marriage connection perpetuates marriage obligation once a marriage has taken place between two families. The social status determines the roles of the two families as givers of brides and receivers of brides. When a man Gopal from the Ghorpade family has married a girl Sitā from the Bhosle family the two families feel obliged to perpetuate an affinal connection and Sitā's family is anxious to give another daughter into Gopal's family in the next generation and the new bride is by preference the brother's daughter of Sitā.



This pattern is adhered to consciously if the superiority sentiments are deep-rooted, but even when there are no tacit standards about the superiority or inferiority of clans this pattern is followed so that a man marries his mother's brother's daughter. A woman is always anxious to bring her brother's daughter as her daughter-in-law and that has resulted in the term *Ātyā* or *Māvaḷaṇ* being applied to both father's sister and husband's mother.

There is a belief among all Marathi-speaking people including even those who do not possess clans that if a man marries his father's sister's daughter some ill-luck would befall the family. The reason against such a marriage is given in an expression—"the creeper (a climbing vine) must not return." (*parat vel yetā naye*). The girl given to a family as a bride is the creeper or vine. If her daughter comes back as a bride into her father's family, there is a return of the creeper which is contrary to nature. The vine with all its shoots must go in one particular direction, it must not



come back. We have thus givers and receivers of girls even among people who theoretically belong to the same status. Among those who are of the same status ultimately the circle of giving will be closed by C or D or E giving daughters to A. We have thus a principle of indirect exchange. But very often it leads to social maladjustments by which daughters of highly born families tend to remain unmarried for failing to find a groom of equal status or must marry below their grade and become members of a lower social group. In such marriages the married girl loses the usual contact with her parents' home and is not treated as an honoured guest.

These customs lead to certain established rights. Among Marathas, and especially Kunbis, it is customary for the father to take money for a girl when she is given in marriage. If a man marries his mother's brother's daughter the amount of money paid to the bride's father is always smaller than when a man marries an outsider. We may thus say that money moves in the direction opposite to the direction in which brides are given. Actually however in the higher Maratha society the custom of dowry is also found and a man will marry a girl of a slightly lower status if she brought a substantial dowry, so that the movement of money and brides is all in one direction. The author has heard bitter complaints from high-born impoverished parents of girls that in mo-

der times men seemed to care more for money than for status or nobility.

Sometimes in central Maharashtra and more frequently in south Maharashtra a man may marry his father's sister's daughter but on such occasions some expiatory rite is always performed at the time of marriage. On one such occasion a miniature replica of a vine was made in gold, passed over the heads of the groom and the bride and given away to the officiating priest. This was supposed to avert any evil resulting from such a marriage.

Exchange of girls as brides between two families is frowned upon by all who have any pretention to status. It is taken as a sign of extreme poverty. In Maharashtra many Brahmin castes follow the same pattern as the non-Brahmins. All Brahmins possess Gotras and a man, provided he marries outside his *gotra* and *pravara* group, can marry his blood-relation on the mother's side, preferably the daughter of the mother's brother. They do not regulate their marriage according to the consanguinity taboos of the north but on a system of clan exogamy where *gotra* takes the function of the clan. Such a cross-cousin marriage (a man marrying his mother's brother's daughter or a woman marrying her father's sister's son) is or was upto recently the preferred type of marriage among the Sāraswat, the Karhādā and the Deśastha Rgvedi Brahmin castes of Maharashtra.

The Chitpāvan caste followed the *gotra* and *pravara* rules and did not allow marriage among people related within five generations from the mother and seven from the father. However there have been stray cases of cross-cousin marriage even among the Chitpāvans where a legal fiction was resorted to, to make the marriage conform to the usual type. If the boy A is a cross-cousin (father's sister's son) of the girl B and a marriage is arranged, then B is given in adoption to a man C who is in no way related either to the family of A or of B. By adoption then B becomes the daughter of a family who is not related consanguinally to A and so can become his bride. In some recent marriages even this expedient was not felt to be necessary.

The Mādhyandina caste of Brahmins not only practises the usual rule of *gotra* and *pravara* but insist that the *pravara* of the bride's *māmā* must be different from the groom's *māmā*, i.e., the groom's maternal uncle. This custom is analogous to the northern rule of four *gotras* whereby the bride's and groom's grandmothers must also belong to different families. This taboo on all families belonging to the mother's *gotra* is not found among other Brahmin castes

of Maharashtra. Researches show that very probably the Mādh-yandina Brahmins are a later immigration into Maharashtra from the northern zone.

The Gujars in Khandesh (north-west Maharashtra) do not allow cross-cousin marriage and follow northern customs. Recently however after much debating in the caste council permission was granted for one such marriage. One of the caste elders said, "When all around you, other castes are indulging in such marriages you cannot prevent it happening in one isolated caste. One cannot live in the sea and not get wet."

The difference in the marriage customs in different parts of Maharashtra and the very gradual spread of cross-cousin marriage among most castes illustrate the process of cultural exchanges and cultural adjustments and the slow tempo of such changes in the loosely knit caste society of India. This process can be studied, assessed and mapped for a region in all the aspects of culture like dress, utensils, social organization and language and makes a very fascinating study in a culture-contact region like Maharashtra. A glimpse at the linguistic aspect of this process will be obtained when we deal with the kinship terminology in the Marathi language.

Thus we see that the preferred type of marriage in Maharashtra is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter. It is found among the majority of castes. The other type of the cross-cousin marriage in which a man marries his father's sister's daughter is not tolerated. It is supposed to result in misfortune and some expiatory rites need to be performed when it does take place. The endogamous castes, other than the Marathas, do not possess a pronounced hypergamous structure and do not give hypergamy as a reason for following such a practice; but the fact that Marathas do possess such a system, and that they also form an influential majority in the region seems to indicate that such a marriage and the accompanying taboo against the other type of cross-cousin marriage rest on feelings of superiority and inferiority arising from such a system.

The Maratha system of exogamous clans, each with its totemic symbol, have analogies only with the clan system of the southern people and may have been derived from them, the conquering people forming the higher groups while the conquered people acquired a lower status. The immigrants establishing themselves as a ruling class accepted daughters from the indigenous population without however deigning to give theirs in return, thus forming

the system of cross-cousin marriage found in Maharashtra today. The custom of receiving daughters as far as possible from one family and thus establishing certain rights and duties of sexual behaviour is also a usual southern custom and it is possible that the women brought as brides established this custom by bringing daughters-in-law from their paternal family.

The family in Maharashtra is patrilineal and patrilocal but it has many customs unknown in north India, but which are found universally in the south. In the north a bride comes back after the marriage ceremony and lives with her parents till the *gaunā* ceremony. After this she is sent away for good and visits her father's home only very occasionally for ceremonial visits. In Maharashtra after the marriage a bride moves to and from her father's house quite frequently before and after reaching puberty. It is customary for a girl to come and stay with her parents during her first pregnancy and delivery. A girl and her people are put to great shame if she has no parental home to go to for her first delivery. This misfortune forms the theme of a number of folk-stories. Among most people a woman comes and lives with her parents for each pregnancy and delivery though it is not considered as necessary as at the time of the first delivery. Each big feast-day brings back the married woman to her father's house. Once a girl comes to her father's house, it is always very difficult to get her back to her husband's house. The husband's people who come to fetch her are sent back again and again until the gifts they bring ultimately satisfy the parents or the fear of the disapprobation of the community, or a costly law suit makes them send back the bride to her husband. In fact this type of conduct has resulted in almost a norm of social behaviour. A girl comes away or runs away very often from the husband's house, goes back reluctantly, only to return in a few week's time. A woman settles contentedly in her husband's house only after she has given birth to a few children, though the slightest excuse sends her with her children on a visit to the parents' house. This behaviour of the bride is encouraged by her parents, sometimes from motives of extorting presents from the boy's parents. Except among the very high born Marathas it is the general custom among agriculturists to pay bride-price and if a man fails to retain his wife he may lose both the wife and the bride-price. The quarrels of the two parties and the law-suits filed by husbands for the restoration of conjugal rights form a considerable number of cases in the civil courts of Maharashtra.¹²

Curiously this behaviour of the wives is at variance with the usual norm for wifehood, but reflects the stresses and strains of a region where two cultures have met. At least for India it seems as if the phenomenon of preference for one type of marriage (that of a man to his mother's brother's daughter) is due to culture contact resulting in the establishment of hypergamous caste groups. It is found among the Rajputs and Marathas who have clans which are composed of different ethnic elements and which live in contact with the southern regions which practise cross-cousin marriage.

The southern influence is more marked in the Maratha region than in Rajasthan and Kathiawad. The language is northern, i.e., Sanskritic in origin but the structure of the kinship terms reveals southern influences. Some kinship terms are literary and are used by Brahmins and are purely Sanskritic. There are others, more colloquial and equally respectable, used both by Brahmins and non-Brahmins, which can be explained and understood by reference to the southern systems. The Marathi language has a larger kinship vocabulary than any other language either in the north or the south, because of the double nomenclature for certain relations.

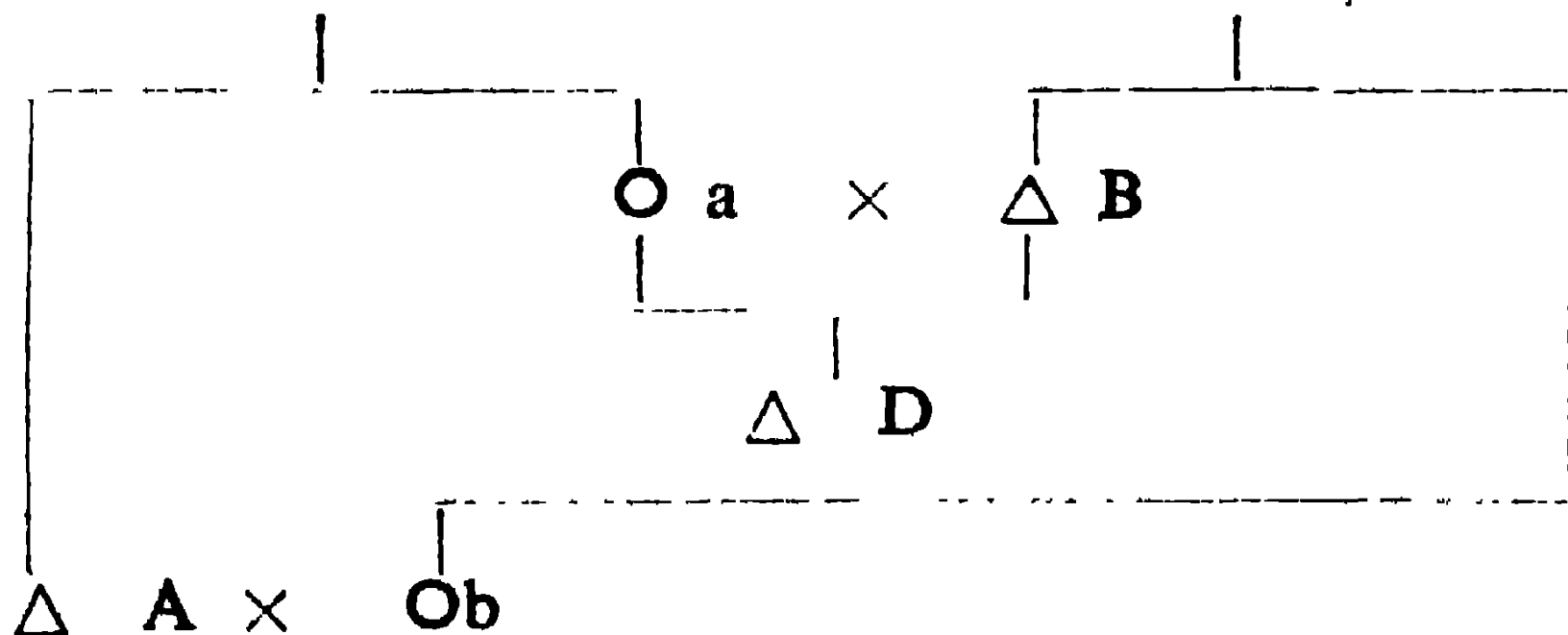
In the north the words for brother's wife are *bhāujī* or *bhābhī* (elder brother's wife) and for husband's sister *nanad*. In Marathi the Sanskritic terms corresponding to the above are *bhāvajaya* and *nanand*. The term for elder brother's wife is *vahinī* which, however, is used also for the younger brother's wife. When a man or a woman says simply "so and so is my *vahinī*", it is understood that he refers to his elder brother's wife. If the reference is to a younger brother's wife one must say *dhāktī vahinī*, i.e., younger *vahinī*. The other word for *nanand* is *vanse* or *vāinse* used as a term of address or also as a term of reference.

The words *vahinī* and *vainse* are really the same words, with the difference that a syllable 'sa' (se) is added to the word *vahinī* to turn it into *va(h)inse*. The addition of the syllable 'sa' is quite common in some regions of Maharashtra today and was apparently more wide-spread in the 13th and 14th century as appears from literary records of those centuries. Thus the word *bāp* (father) is often written as *bāpus* in older literature and spoken at present as *bāpus* on the west coast. The words *āī* (mother), *bāī* (a woman) are also written as *āīsā*, *bāīsā* in old Marathi. "Sa" denotes respect. *Vahinī* and *vainse* are the same words except that to show respect to a relation of the husband the syllable *sa* is added when talking to or about the husband's sister. *Vahinī* thus means both "husband's sister" and "brother's wife". It is thus a term of mu-

KINSHIP ORGANIZATION OF THE CENTRAL ZONE

tual address by two women standing in either relation to each other. Such terms are found in the Dravidian languages and this mode shows that Marathi has borrowed the mode from the south. The purely Sanskritic words *bhāvajaya* and *naṇanda* are never used in this way. Nor are the Marathi people aware that *vahinī* and *vanse* are really the same words. From the meaning of the term also it is not suited for mutual address. *Vahinī* is made up of two words *vadhū* (Sanskrit) + *aṇṇi* (elder brother's wife¹³ — a later Dravidian word formed on the analogy of Sanskrit feminine words from the original *aṇṇā* = elder brother). "A woman who is a *vadhū* (a bride) of the house being the elder brother's wife" is thus the meaning of the word. Such a term cannot be applied by two women to each other, unless there was the custom of exchange of girls between two families. Such exchanges occur but rarely in Maharashtra.

In Marathi there are the usual Sanskritic words for the father-in-law and mother-in-law. They are: *sāsarā* and *sāsū*. Besides these, other words *māmā* or *māmājī* for father-in-law and *māmī* or *māvalaṇa* for mother-in-law are also in common use. The words *māmā* and *māmī* are the usual words for the mother's brother and his wife. These words are applicable only for a man's parents-in-law inasmuch as he marries the maternal uncle's daughter but they are in general use and are employed even among castes who taboo strictly any kind of cousin-marriage. In Marathi the word *ātyā* is used for the father's sister and it is used also for husband's mother among the Marathas. The usage is suggestive of the actual practice. The other word for *ātyā*, which is also frequently used is *māvalaṇa* which does not conform to marriage-practices at all. The word *māvalaṇa* is derived from the Sanskrit word *mātulānī*, the feminine of the Sanskrit word *mātula* (mother's brother). As there is no custom of exchange marriage, the father's sister cannot really become the mother's brother's wife and yet the word *māvalaṇa* suggests such a usage.



A and *a* are a brother and a sister who have married *b* and *B*, another sister and brother. The son *D* of the man *B* and the woman *a* has *A* for his maternal uncle and the woman *b* for his paternal aunt. But as *b* is the wife of *A*, she is to *D* (1) his father's sister as also (2) the wife of the mother's brother.

This type of marriage is frowned upon in Maharashtra and so the kinship terms are not conformable with the actual usage.

The third set of double terms refer to the cross-cousins. In conformity with the northern languages and northern usage the Marathi people use the words *māme-bhāu*, and *māme-bahīṇ*, for the children of the mother's brother, i.e., the *māmā*. These terms mean: "the brother and sister through *māmā*". In the same way the children of the father's sister are called *āte-bhāu* and *āte-bahīṇ*, i.e., brother and sister through *āte*. The other set of terms as is used for these relatives among many Marathas and Kunbis is: *mehuṇā* and *mehuṇī*. These are reciprocal terms and the relation between the children of a brother and a sister is said to be that of *mehuṇe*. The words *mehuṇā*, *mehuṇī* and *mehuṇe* are of Sanskrit origin. The Sanskrit word *maithuna* or *maithunaka* becomes *mehuṇa* or *mehuṇaga* in Prākṛt and *mehuṇa* or *mehuṇā* in Marathi. The Sanskrit word *mithuna* is not a kinship word at all. It means 'a pair' and is used for any pair of the same sex or of different sexes. In Mahabharata the twin brothers Nakula and Sahadeva are called *mithuna* many times. The word is however used oftener for a different-sexed pair of birds, beasts, semi-divine beings or human beings. In Marathi the word *mehūṇa* is used without any kinship connotation for a married pair. Thus, on auspicious days it is customary to invite a *mehūṇa* (i.e., a married couple) of the Brahmin caste for a meal. Thus the word is not used for any pair, but for a human married couple only. The word *mehūṇa* is neuter. The word *mehūṇā* and *mehuṇī* on the other hand are masculine and feminine respectively and have only a kinship connotation. The words are applied either to cross-cousins or to wife's brother and sister. The word in this context means "a marriage partner" — "one with whom I make a pair", and is a new word coined to meet a new social situation unknown to north India, i.e., that of cross-cousin marriage. The northern usage equates all cousins to brothers and sisters. Marathi retains the northern terms but has two extra terms to denote the new relationship.

In the same way the fourth pair of words are those used for the wife's brother and sister. The words *sālā* and *sālī* are like

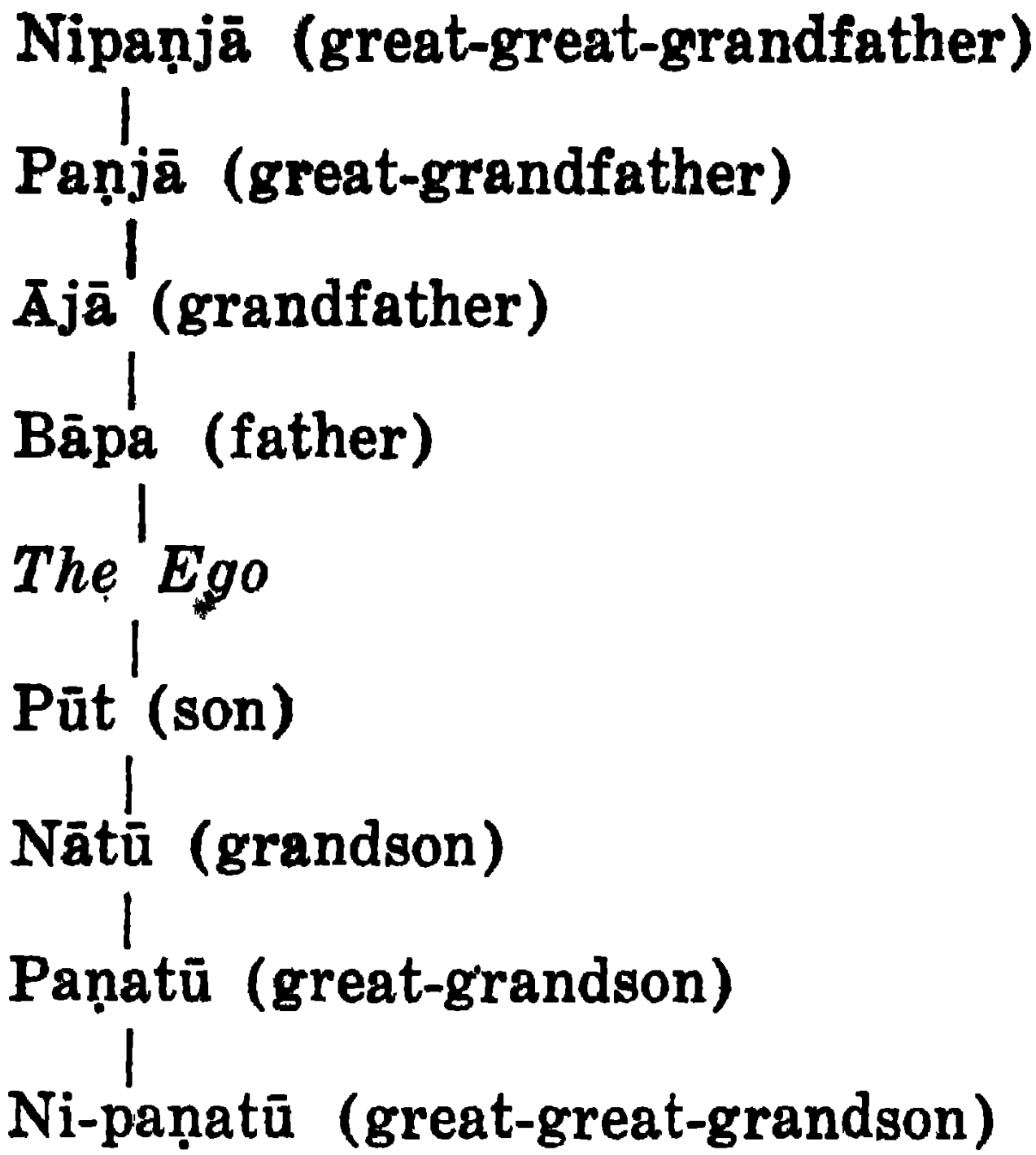
northern *sālā* and *sālī* derived from the old Sanskrit word *śyāla* and *śyālikā*. The other pair of words are *mehuṇā* and *mehuṇī* which we have already discussed above. The custom of using the same words for cross-cousins and wife's brothers and sisters seems to be derived from the Dravidian south.

Some other peculiarities and modifications of the Marathi terminology may now be discussed. The Marathi word for father is *bāpa* or *bāpu* or *bābā* which seems to be derived from the western *bappā* and *bāpu* and is not found in the Sanskrit literature.

The word for mother is *āī* and those for grandfather and grandmother are *ājā* and *ājī*. All these words are derived from the Sanskrit word *ārya* or *āryaka*. *Ārya* becomes *ayya* and *ajja* in Pali and Ardhamagadhi respectively. From the Prakṛt *ajja-a* (*āryaka*) we have Marathi *ājā* and *ājī* the Marathi feminine form. From *ayya* we would have a masculine form *aya* which is missing, but we have the feminine *āyī* or *āī* for mother.

The words *ājā* and *ājī* seem originally to have stood for mother's father and mother's mother. The father's father and mother even now are called among many castes *mhātārā* or *thorlā bā* and *mhatārī āī* which means the old or older father and mother. The word *ājol* is used in Marathi always for a person's mother's father's house. *Ājol* in Sanskrit would be rendered as *ārya* (*ajja*) + *kula* (*ula*), i.e., the family of the *ārya*. One's father's house is one's own and so needs no separate designation. Mother's parents being respected affinal relations would, according to Sanskrit usage, be called *ārya* and their house is *ārya-kula*. Now however, the words *ājā* and *ājī* are used for grand-parents on both sides. The parents' great-grand-parent is called *ni-panjā* and *khāpar-panjā*. *Panjā* is a degree above *ājā*. The *ni* — of *ni-panjā* is a negative and the *khāpar* of *khāpar-panjā* means a potsherd as a symbol of something inauspicious. In Maharashtra it is supposed to be inauspicious for a man to live long enough to see the face of his great-great-grandson. The same sentiment is reflected in the words for grandson, great-grandson and great-great-grandson, which are *nātū* (Sanskrit *napṭṛ*), *pañtū* (Sanskrit *pra-napṭṛ*), and *ni-pañtū* or *khāpar-pañtū*. It also may indicate the limits of primary kinship in the father's line or the limit of the joint family.

With the Ego in the middle, close kinship in the father's line is counted upto and including three ascending generations and three descending generations. This conception however is not elaborated in kinship usage or ritual except on the occasion of offering



food to the ancestors. A man offers food to his father, grandfather and great-grandfather by mentioning these relations by the kinship terms and then he gives an omnibus offering for all those who may be above these. This usage found in Sanskrit literature may have found an expression in this type of terminology.

The word for father's brother is *culatā* derived from Prakṛt *culla* + *tāo* (the younger father) and must stand for father's younger brother. It is however used both for the elder and younger brothers of the father. The word *kākā* is also similarly used. The words *thorlā bā* and *dhāklā bā* (elder and younger father) are also used sometimes.

The words *māmā*, *māmī*, *ātyā* and *māvalaṇa* are already discussed. Among some castes no one word exists for *ātyā*'s husband, while some give the word *māmā* or *māvalā*. Mother's sister is *māuśī*, the same word as northern *māuśī*. It is also used for father's younger wife. A man can and does many times marry his wife's younger sister. This custom is reflected in the Marathi proverb *āi melī ki bāpa māusā*, i.e., after mother's death the father is but the *māuśī*'s husband. It means that from a close blood-relation he becomes as distant as an affinal relation when he marries the younger sister of the mother.

The words for brother and sister are similar to those in the North — *bhāu* and *bhahīṇ*. The Marathi people however use a lot of nicknames for elder and younger brother and elder and younger sister like *dādā*, *aṇṇā*, *nānā*, *bāpū*, *bābū* for brothers and

tāī, māī, akkā, etc., for sisters. They are either words for father and mother (*bābā* and *bāpu* or *tāī* and *māī*) or borrowed from Dravidian (*aṇṇā, nānā* and *akkā*). This very peculiar custom of designating brothers by nicknames seems to be derived from the Dravidian custom of nomenclature which is discussed later.

The cousins are either called *bhāu* and *bahiṇ* or a distinction is made between parallel cousins who are called *bhāu* and *bahiṇ* and the cross-cousins who are called *mehuṇe*. This has already been discussed above. For relatives of the generation below one's own, in the northern zone as we have seen, there are terms for (i) own son and daughter (*puo-dhī*), (ii) brother's son and daughter (*bhatījā-bhtījī*), (iii) sister's son and daughter (*bhānjā-bhānjī*), (iv) husband's brother's son and daughter (*jeṭhut, derut, jeṭhutī, derotī*), (v) husband's sister's children (*nandut* etc.), (vi) wife's brother's and sister's children (*saḷut* etc.). The terms enumerated under (i), (ii) and (iii) are the same whether the speaker is a man or a woman.

In Maharashtra one does not have so many terms and the type of terms changes according as the speaker is a man or a woman. For own son and daughter the terms are *pūt* or *lyok* or *mulagā* or *mulagī*. The same terms are used when a woman speaks of her sister's children. The words *putaṇyā-putaṇī* are used when a man speaks of his brother's children or a woman speaks of her husband's brother's children. When a man speaks of his sister's children the words are *bhācā-bhācī*.¹⁴ This system is a sort of a compromise between the southern and northern systems. In a purely classificatory system one would have expected only two pairs of terms for

- (a) children of the same sexed sibling, own children, husband's brother's children and wife's sister's children, and
- (b) the children of the different sexed sibling, wife's brother's children and husband's sister's children.

Marathi has not the northern system but has only certain elements of the southern system. It is thus a compromise system of nomenclature for these relations.

For husband and wife there are various terms mostly of Sanskrit derivation and analogous to the northern terms. We have already discussed the terms for spouse's parents, husband's sister and wife's brother. The terms for husband's brother are of inte-

rest. In old Marathi literature there were two terms *bhāvā* for husband's elder brother and *dīra* for husband's younger brother. The term *bhāvā* is used as *bhāvasāsrā* also and is analogous to the northern term *bhāsur*. It is retained in the modern term *bhāvojī*. This term is used among Brahmins for husband's elder or younger brother. Among agriculturists it is used for that relation as also for wife's elder brother or elder sister's husband. In modern time the only word of reference is *dīra*, which means husband's brother generally. To the own name of the person sometimes the title *bhāvojī* is attached (e.g. Laxman-*bhāvojī*). There are no separate words for husband's elder brother's wife and younger brother's wife. They are both referred to as *jānū* and called *bāī*. Actually one does not directly address any of the people of the husband's house if they are older than oneself. The younger relatives may be addressed as *vanse*, *bhāujī* or *Yamunābāī* etc., but that too rarely. Levirate is not allowed in most of Maharashtra and with the disappearance of that custom the distinction between husband's elder and younger brother and elder brother's and younger brother's wife (both of whom are called *vahinī* and referred to as *bhāvajaya*) has vanished in Maharashtra. Also, instead of separate terms for husband's elder brother's son and husband's younger brother's son like *jēṭhut* and *derut*, we have only one word *putaṇyā* and for daughter *putaṇī* in Marathi.

The words *sālā* and *sālī* are used for wife's brother and sister respectively. For the younger relatives the terms *mehuṇā* and *mehuṇī* are also used for this pair. The word *mehuṇacār* is used for joking relationship and possible marriage relationship between these relatives. The terms *mehuṇā-mehuṇī* (but not *sālā-sālī*) are used also for sister's husband. For wife's elder sister there is an old term which has now gone out of general use but which is still used in parts of Berar, viz., *akkad-sāsū*. It is a term parallel to *bhāva-sāsrā*. A woman must behave as towards a father-in-law to her husband's elder brother; he is her *bhāva-sāsrā* (*bhāva* = brother, *sāsrā* = father-in-law). In the same way a man's behaviour to his wife's elder sister is very circumspect. She is an *akkā* (a Dravidian word meaning elder sister) who is at the same time like a *sāsū* (mother-in-law). In older Marathi there is a word *bhāṭu* or *bhaṭwā*. It is also found in a folk-song of eastern Maharashtra. This word is used in Berar and Nagpur (eastern Maharashtra) and also among Gonds, and refers to wife's elder brother. It is not of Dravidian origin as there is no similar word among the southern people. I did not come across such a word in the

north either and cannot derive it from any Sanskrit word except *bhartā* (husband, master). The word for wife's sister's husband is similar to the northern word namely *sādu* or *sāḍbhāu*. For son's wife the Marathi word is *sūna*, derived from Sanskrit *snusā* and in this respect there is similarity to the Sindhi and Panjabi languages. The word for son-in-law is *jāvaī* derived from Sanskrit *jāmātr*. The parents of the son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *vyāhī* (masculine) and *viḥīṇa* (femine) derived from the Sanskrit word *vivāha* (marriage) and mean those connected by marriage. In its connotation it is analogous to the words *samdhi* and *samdhin* of the north..

Like the north Maharashtra has a set of terms for parents' house and husband's house. *Māher* (mother's house) and *sāsar* (father-in-law's house) are terms used oftenest by women. Analogous to the word *nanihāl*, Marathi has the word *ājola*. Women in their parents' house are called *māhervāśīṇ*, those in their husband's house are called *sāsurvāśīṇ*. The behaviour pattern for the two are different, the differences being the same as noted for the north.

For people with whom one is related, as people of the patri-kin, there is the word *sagā*, which is contrasted with the kin by marriage for which the word is *soyarā*. The plural term *sage-soyare* stands for the whole kinship group. The word *sagā* is derived from the Sanskrit word *svaka* (one's own). The word *soyarā* seems to be derived from the word *śvaśuraka*¹⁵ (belonging to the father-in-law). We have seen that the word *svaśura* becomes *sahura* in many northern languages. *Sahura-ā* becomes *saura-ā* and *soyarā* in Marathi. In the Marathi expression *sage-soyare* we have again the northern classification of kinship by blood and marriage.

(4) Orissa

Orissa, the easternmost region of the central zone presents ecologically a great contrast with the western region of that zone. Whereas Rajasthan (especially the western part) presents to the eye a dry region, eternally suffering from scarcity of water with its bare granite hills fantastically weathered by the action of the sun and the sand-storms, Orissa is watered by some of the biggest rivers in India and has also some of the densest forests in India. The mountains are a little above three thousand feet in height and are much folded. They rise from the coast upto about 2000-2500 feet and then there is an upland plateau over which smaller hills raise their heads, green in the north and rather bare in the south where the primitive tribes are doing intensive agri-

culture and sowing niger (*Verbesina sativa*) seeds almost to the tops of the hills. The many hills, the rapidly flowing and deep rivers and many smaller streams have cut up the hilly area into smaller regions and inter-communication between them is rather difficult. The western Orissa hinterland of hills and forests is joined to a fertile strip of coast-land where rice is grown. Rice is grown almost upto the western border of the province along the river valleys in the north by the Kulta, Binzal, Chasa, Khandayat and in the south by the Bhatra. Besides these agricultural castes almost all the primitive and semi-primitive tribes grow rice or cash crops like *niger* seed. In the whole of the jungle area there are well-organized periodic markets called *hāṭ* where men and women of primitive tribes and agricultural castes come to sell the produce of their fields and forests and buy salt, oil, cloth, agricultural implements, etc.

The Gonds, Uraons and the Kondhs speak Dravidian languages and their kinship system can be best described along with that of the Dravidian-speaking people. (Ch. V and VI)

The Munda, the Bondo and some of the Saora speaking Mundari languages and their kinship pattern is dealt with later in a separate chapter. (Ch. VII)

The remaining group speaking Uria show the same type of caste divisions as are found in the northern region with slightly different names. The Brahmins seem to be immigrants from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and perhaps from Madhya Pradesh also. The marriage regulations are like those of the Brahmins of northern India. The Aranyaka Brahmins found mostly in the north-western parts of Orissa are supposed sometimes to allow the marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter but I found no actual case of such a marriage.

Among other castes, e.g., the Karans, who are the same as the Kayasthas of the north, cousin marriage is not allowed.

Among the agricultural castes some allow cross-cousin marriage, while others do not. The coastal castes do not allow such a marriage especially in the region north of Lake Chilka. On the other hand most of the upland agricultural castes like the Binzal and the Kolta allow such marriages but they are by no means frequent.

The Pana or the Dom is the most numerous of Orissa's lowest castes. They have entered into a peculiar social relationship with the primitives among whom they live as neighbours. Besides their other duties they are the musicians and drummers of certain lower castes. They buy cattle in the dry season and drive it into the

upland forests for pasturage and do quite a considerable trading in cattle. They know the primitive tribes much more intimately than any other people. Some anthropologists have depicted them as the exploiters of the primitives and the evil influence in their life. It is a wrong picture to draw of this despised people who live on the social borders of two communities. A more objective study is needed for the understanding of the role of these people in an area where so many separate ethnic elements live together. The coastal Pana themselves deny the practice of cross-cousin marriage, the highland Pana sometimes admitted the custom. It seems that such a marriage is sometimes allowed but not preferred.

Junior levirate is found among all poorer classes. The Brahmins, Karans and Khandayats do not allow such practices, but a more detailed study of families and folk-literature might reveal the existence of the custom among some at least of the higher castes.

Like all northern terminologies Uria has separate terms for different uncles and aunts. Their children are called brothers and sisters through uncles and aunts. A distinction is made between husband's elder and younger brother, the elder is called *deḍsur* and so equated to the father-in-law and the younger is referred to by the usual term *diyor* or *deur*. In the same way a distinction is made between the elder brother's wife and the younger brother's wife. A woman does not speak or show her face to the husband's elder brother, while she can cut the most obscene jokes with the husband's younger brother. A man can speak and joke with his elder brother's wife but must not do so with the younger brother's wife. Wife's elder sister is called *deḍ-sāsu* and one must not speak with her. One can joke with the younger sister *sālī* and also marry her.

The kinship terms are given in the Table. They are like Bengali kinship terms. The term *go* is used sometimes as a term of address for husband or wife. In Bengali there is a similar term *ogo*. Neither of these terms is of Sanskrit origin. In Marathi the word *go* or *ago* is used for calling the wife and the word *gho* or *ghovā* is used on the west-coast of Maharashtra for husband. Whether all these terms originate from one source I do not know.¹⁶

To sum up, we find that in the central zone :

- (1) Rajasthan, Kathiawad and Gujarat is a region where only Sanskritic languages are spoken though there are some non-Sanskritic words in daily speech. The kinship pattern is predominantly northern, though a few customs have simi-

larities with southern customs. Some groups practise one type of cross-cousin marriage as a permissive form of marriage, i.e., the marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter.

The hypergamy and one type of cross-cousin marriage seem to be two aspects of one and the same social relationship arising out of amalgamation of different ethnic elements through successive incursions and conquests.

- (2) Maharashtra is a region where the overwhelming majority of people speak a Sanskritic language. There are however semi-primitive people in the east who speak Dravidian languages (i.e., Gondi and Kolami). The Marathi language has also a considerable number of words of Dravidian origin in its vocabulary since the earliest times. The majority of castes and tribes practise one type of cross-cousin marriage. In central and northern Maharashtra there is a definite taboo on the other type of marriage, though it occurs in south Maharashtra. In north Maharashtra junior levirate is allowed among many castes. In central and south Maharashtra it is not allowed. The Marathas, the most numerous of the Maharashtra castes, show a hypergamous clan structure. It is the region most affected by southern practices and its kinship behaviour, kinship terms, folk-songs and literature all show that it is a region of cultural borrowings and cultural synthesis.
- (3) More than one-fourth of the population of Orissa is tribal population. Languages belonging to three major linguistic families in India are spoken in this region but as the region is cut up by rivers, hills and forests there is not evolved such a homogeneous mixed culture as in Maharashtra. Still all ethnic groups are affected by one another and copy each other's practices. The Uriya-speaking groups generally show a northern pattern though many agriculturists allow cross-cousin marriage of one type only.

Thus the central zone, though differing in its various areas, has one thing in common, viz., that many of its castes practise one type of cross-cousin marriage and have a definite taboo or aversion towards the other type of cross-cousin marriage. It forms in many ways a region of transition from the north to the south.

REFERENCES

¹ It may be noted here that it is also a region about which not much is known to anthropologists. As it was an area under the control of Indian States very little work has been done there, though some excellent articles about some of its tribes exist.

² For details of these clans and mythologies connected with them refer to *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*—JAMES TODD, and the Hindi book with an English title: *The History of Rajastana*—GAURISHANKAR HIRACHAND OZA.

³ Scholars of medieval history differ as regards the function and antiquity of these (Rajput) Gotras. Mr. C. V. VAIDYA in his book *The History of Medieval India*, Vol. II, pp. 55-63. (Oriental Book Agency, Poona-2), argues that the Gotras are an ancient possession of these clans. Mr. GAURISHANKAR OZA on the other hand shows that they are adopted in a haphazard fashion and have no function analogous to Brahmin Gotras (*The History of Rajputana,—Rājputānā Kā Itihāsa—*, Vol. I, pp. 347-355, second Edition 1937, Ajmer).

⁴ *Caste Handbook for Indian Army*, "Rajputs", p. 28, Superintendent, Government of India Press, 1918, Calcutta.

⁵ For detailed analysis of the kinship terms of Gujarat see the author's article in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. IV, No. 3. "Kinship System and Kinship Usages in Gujarat and Kathiawad."

⁶ ENTHOVEN, *Castes and Tribes of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. II, pp. 145-6.

⁷ According to Indian astrological practices there are certain periods of a year at a time which are banned for marriage. This is called *Simhastha*. There is another which comes after every twelve years which is particularly auspicious for marriages and is called *Kanyāgata*. Just the year before *Simhastha* people try to rush outstanding marriages. And in the *Kanyāgat* year orthodox people try to perform the marriage of their daughters even if they are a little younger than the usual age for marriage. But this behaviour does not affect the whole population in other parts of India, as every year has certain months which are considered auspicious for marriages. Only in Gujarat have I come across whole castes which have periodical marriages and where an attempt is made to pair in marriage every single unmarried individual of whatever age.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*

⁹ *Rasakallol*, p. 133-4; edit. by CHHAGANLAL VIDYARAM RAVAL, Bombay, Forbes Gujarati Sabha, 1929.

¹⁰ Outside Maharashtra the word "Maratha" is used to denote persons speaking the Marathi language, i.e., all castes of Maharashtra. In Maharashtra however, the word "Maratha" denotes a caste.

¹¹ There has been some controversy about the Shinde clan. The words Shindā (nom. singular) and Shinde (nom. plural) are sometimes used for illegitimate children and their progeny. Almost every caste has an inferior appendage of such a subgroup called Lekāvle or Shinde. The name Shinde therefore does in many cases denote such an origin. On the other hand there are whole regions comprising of many villages where people with the clan-name Shinde live. The social position occupied by the illegitimate Shindes does not fit in with this type of regional occupation so typical of the other clans too. These Shindes therefore appear to be an independent clan just like

the others. These Shindes may be also remnants of a once ruling petty chief, a surmise strengthened by the finding of two copper plates naming a ruling house of Sind near Nasik.

¹² See the author's paper : "Some studies in the making of a Culture Pattern" in *Essays in Anthropology* presented to Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, Lucknow, Maxwell & Co.

¹³ Cf. KATRE, on the Sanskrit word *bhaginī*, and its cognates, *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 176-77.

¹⁴ Sometimes educated people and some Brahmins use the term *Bhācā-Bhācī* when a woman speaks of her sister's children but the usage does not seem to be general among the majority of castes.

¹⁵ I am indebted to Dr. S. M. KATRE for this suggestion.

¹⁶ The word *goho* is found in medieval Jain Prakṛt literature and is used for a simple man, a farmer, and it is given as a Deśī (non-Sanskrit) word in the *Abhidhānarājendra*, the *Ardhamagidhi* dictionary.

APPENDIX I

	RĀJASTĀNĪ	GUJARĀTĪ	URIYĀ	MARATHĪ
1. Fa	.. Bāpū, Phāyaji Bāpū, Kākō, Dādāji, Bāp	Bāpū, Bāpā	Bappa, Nanna	Bāpa
2. Fa-Fa	.. Bābā, Dādā	Dādā	Jeje-bapa, Gunsai-bapa, Ajā, Thākura-bāpā Anājā Ajja, Nannā Anaajā	Ājā Panajā Ājā Panajā Culatā, Kākā
3. Fa-Fa-Fa	.. Parbābā, Pardādā			
4. Mo-Fa	.. Nānā	Ajā, Nānā		
5. Mo-Fa-Fa	.. Parnānā			
6. Fa-Br	.. Tāū, Bābā	Kākā		
(a) elder	..	Motā bāpu		
(b) younger	.. Kākā, Chāchā	Kākā	Dadda, Sanna baba, Jethapā, Jethā Kakka, Khudata, Kakā Cacchā, Dādi	
7. Mo-Br	.. Māmā	Māmā	Mamo	Māmā, Māvalā
8. Mo	.. Mā, Jiji	Mā, Bā	Mā, Akkā, Attā, Āi, Jā	Āi
9. Mo-Mo	.. Nānī	Nānī-mā, Nānī-ba	Āi, Āji	Ājī
10. Mo-Fa-Mo	.. Parnānī			Panajī
11. Fa-Mo	.. Dādī	Dādī	Gunsai-mā, Jeji, Āima	Ājī

		RAJASTANI	GUJARATI	URIYA	MARATHI
12.	Fa-Fa-Mo	.. Pardādī			Papaji
13.	Fa-Si	..			
	(a) elder	∴	Phai, Phui	Piusi, Attā	Ātyā, Māvalaṇa
	(b) younger	∴ }			
14.	Mo-Si	..			
	(a) elder	∴	Māsī	Mausī	Mausī
	(b) younger	∴ }			
15.	Br	..	Bhāi, Vīrā	Bhai	Bhāu
	(a) elder	..		Uparabhāi, Uṭhiābhāi	
	(b) younger	..			
16.	Fa-Br-So	..	Pitreya-bhāi	Puva-bhai	Culat-bhāu
	(a) older than ego	..		Daddai Puvabhai, Jethāpua, Dādi Puvabhāi	
	(b) younger than ego	..		Kakkoi puvabhai	
17.	Fa-Si-So	..	Phuiāt-bhāi	Pivasi puvabhai	Āte-bhāu, Mehuṇā
18.	Mo-Br-So	..	Moḷai-bhāi	Mamo-puvabhai	Māme-bhāu, Mehuṇā
19.	Fa-Si-So	..	Masiyāt-bhāi	Mausi-puvabhai	Māus-bhāu

20.	Si	..	Bihin, Bāi, Bhaṇ	Ben, Bon, Bena, Bona, Bheṇī	Bhauni, Bahin	Bahīṇa
	(a) elder	..	Jiji, Bahin, Bāiji		Attā, Apā, Didī	
	(b) younger	..	Bahin		Baḷā	
21.	Fa-Br-Da	..	Caceri bahin	Pitreya-bena		Culat-bahīṇa
	(a) elder than ego	..			Daddai-zia-bhauni	
	(b) younger than ego	..			Kakkoi-zia-bhauni	
22.	Fa-Si-Da	..	Phupheri bahin	Phuiāt-bena	Piusi-zia-bhauni	Āte-bahīṇa, Mehunī
	(b) younger than ego	..				
23.	Mo-Br-Da	..	Māmeeri bahin	Moḷāi-bena	Mamo-zia-bhauni	Māme-bahīṇa, Mehunī
24.	Mo-Si-Da	..	Mauseri bahin	Masiyāi-bena	Mausi-zia-bhauni	Māus-bahīṇa
25.	So	..	Beṭo, Beṭā, Putra, Laḍakā, Gigo, Gigalo, Choro	Dikro, Gagā	Puvo, Jāḍā, Pilā, Pua, Po	Lyok, Mulagā, Pūta
26.	Br-So (man speaking)	..	Bhatijā, Bhātijo	Bhatrijo	Puttura	Putapyā
27.	Br-So (woman speaking)	..	Bhatijā, Bhātijo	Bhatrijo		Bhācā
28.	Si-So (man speaking)	..	Bhānjā, Bhāṇjo, Maine	Bhāṇej, Bhāṇkā	Bhanajā	Bhācā

		RAJASTANI	GUJARATI	URIYA	MARATHI
29.	Si-So (woman speaking)	.. Maine	Bhāṇej, Bhāṇkā	Bhanaajā	Bhācā, Lyok
30.	So-So	.. Nāti, Poto, Potā	Dikrāno-Dikro, Pōtro	Nātu, Napta, Nāti	Nātū
31.	So-So-So	.. Nāti, (Parnāti)		Aṇanāti	Paṇatū
32.	Da-So	.. Dhewatā, Duhito	Dikrino-Dikro, Bhāṇā	Nātu, Napta, Nāvsā, Nāti	Nātū
33.	Da-So-So	..		Aṇanāti	Paṇatū
34.	Da	.. Beti, Laṛki	Dikri	Zia	Lek, Mulagī
35.	Br-Da (man speaking)	.. Bhatiji	Bhatriji	Ziari	Putapī, Dhādī
36.	Br-Da (woman speaking)	.. Bhatiji	Bhatriji		Bhācī
37.	Si-Da (man speaking)	.. Bhāṇji	Bhāṇji, Bhāṇki	Bhanaaji	Bhācī
38.	Si-Da (woman speaking)	.. Bhāṇji	Bhāṇji, Bhāṇki	Bhanaaji	Bhācī, Lek
39.	Da-Da	.. Dhewatī, Duhiti	Dikrini-Dikri, Bhāṇī	Natuni	Nāt.
40.	Da-Da-Da	.. Dhewatī, Duhiti		Aṇanātuni	Paṇatī
41.	So-Da	.. Nātinī, Potī	Dikrani-Dikri	Natuni	Nāt
42.	So-So-Da	..		Aṇanātuni	Paṇatī
43.	Fa-Si-Hu	.. Phaphā, Phūpho		Piusa	

44.	Hu-Fa	..	Sasur, Susar, Sasuro Sasaro	Sasura	Sāsarā, Māmanjī
45.	Wi-Fa	..	Sasur, Susar, Sasuro Sasaro	Sasura	Sāsarā, Māmā
46.	Mo-Si-Hu	..	Mausā, Mouso, Mausojī	Mausa	Māusā
47.	Mo-Br-Wi	..	Māmī, Māi	Mai	Māmī
48.	Fa-Br-Wi	..	Tāi, Kākī, Chāchī	Dethei, Khudi, Kākī, Khurdī, Jethāi	Kākū, Kākī, Chultī
49.	Hu-Mo	..	Sās	Sasu, Attā	Sāsū, Māvalaṇ
50.	Wi-Mo	..	Sās	Sasu	Sāsū, Māmī
51.	Hu	..	Marat, Dhani, Pati, Bid,	Ghoytā, Gerasta, Aṇḍrā, Arjya, Ghaita	Navarā, Pati, Kārabhārī
52.	Hu-Br	..			
	(a) elder than husband	..	Jeth	Dethsur, Jerḍasūra	Bhāujī, Bhāvā, Dīra
	(b) younger than husband	..	Dewar	Devar, Diara, Debara	(Name + Bhāujī), Dīra

		RAJASTANI	GUJARATI	URIYA	MARATHI
53.	Wi-Br	.. Sālā, Sālo	Sālā, Hālo	Sālā, Ghara-ārḍu -bhāi, Bākkīra	Sālā, Behuṇā
54.	Si-Hu	Bahanoī	Banevī	Grāmahasaka	Mehuṇā, Bānevī
	(a) elder sister's husband	.. Jijā			
	(b) younger sister's husband	..			
55.	Hu-Si-Hu	.. Nanadoī, Nanadeu, Jijoji	Nandoi	Nanadei	Nanadoī, Nanandā
56.	Wi-Si-Hu	.. Sādu	Sāḍhu-bhāi		Sāḍu, Sāḍ-Bhāū
57.	So-Wi-Fa	.. Samadhi, Sago	Vevāhi		Vyāhi
58.	Da-Hu-Fa	.. Samadhi, Sago	Vevāhi		Vyāhi
59.	Wi	.. Lugai, Bhu, Bahu, Binani	Vahu, Bairi	Maipo, Bhāriya	Bāyko, Kārabhāriṇ
60.	Hu-Si	.. Nanad	Nanand	Nanad	Nanada, Nananda Vanse, Vainse
61.	Wi-Si	..	Sāli		Sālī,
	(a) elder than wife	.. Baḍsās	Pātla-sāsu	Ded-sasu,, Jeṭhī	Akkaḍ Sāsu
	(b) younger than wife	.. Sālī	Sālī	Sali, Kelikuñchikā	Mehuṇī

62.	Br-Wi	..	Bhojai	Bhāvajaya,	
	(a) elder brother's wife	..	Bhābhī	Bhaujo, Nūābohū	Vahinī
	(b) younger brother's wife	..	Vahu, Bhābhī	Bhai-vahu	(Name + Vahinī)
63.	Hu-Br-Wi	..			Jāū
	(a) Husband's elder brother's wife	..	Bahu, Binañi		
	(b) Husband's younger brother's wife	..	Jethāñi, Jethāñi	Jā, Joṭhāñi	Bāi
		..	Dewarāñi, Dyorani	Jā	
64.	Wi-Br-Wi	..	Sārāheli, Sahalaj, Sālāheli	Salbhavjo	Salai, Sālākāi
65.	So-Wi-Mo	..	Samadhin, Saggi		Vihīṇa
66.	Da-Hu-Mo	..	Samadhin, Saggi		Vihīṇa
67.	Da-Hu	..	Jamāi, Pāwaṇo	Jamāi	Jāvai
		..	(Aṇvar)	Jwa (n) i, Jain	Putanyā
68.	Hu-Br-So	..	Jethot, Jethuto	Putura	Bhācā
69.	Hu-Si-So	..	Bhānapā, Bhānajo	Nānāndra	
70.	Wi-Br-So	..	Bhatijo	Bhatrijo (among some castes)	

		RAJASTANI	GUJARATI	URIYĀ	MARATHI
71.	Wi-Si-So	.. Bhatijo	Bhāṇo (among some castes)		
72.	So-Wi	.. Bahu, Binani	Vahu	Bohu, Parajhia	Sūna
73.	Hu-Br-Da	..	Bhatriji	Ziari	Putañī
74.	Hu-Si-Da	.. Bhānaji	Bhāṇji		Bhācī
75.	Wi-Br-Da	.. Bhatiji			
76.	Wi-Si-Da	.. Bhatiji			
77.	Father's wife other than ego's mother	.. Sauteli-mā, Mausi		Kaniāñmā, Kanyābhou, Dhāi Pālatimā	Sāvatra Āi, Mausī
78.	Mother's husband other than ego's father	.. Sautela-bāp	Sāvki-mā		
79.	Co-wife	..	Sokya		Sāvatra Bāpa Savata
80.	Co-husband	..			
	Father's house	..	Piyera, Nahyara		
	Mother's house	..	Mahyer		Māher
	Mother's father's house	..	Mosāḷ		Ajoḷa
	Husband's father's house	..			
	Woman of a house	..	Sāsaru		Sāsar
	by marriage	..			
	by birth	..	Mahyari		Sāsūr vāsīṇa Māher vāsīṇa

APPENDIX 2

The following free translation of stanzas is a selection from songs collected by Miss BALUTAI SAPTARSHI in Ahmadnagar district from women of different castes. These songlets are always in the form of a rhyming couplet and are sung at the time of grinding cereals on a stone mill. Such a mill is even today a household article in all houses in Maharashtra. The cereal for everyday bread used to be hand-milled on this mill early in the morning between 5 and 6 a.m. The monotonous work of turning the mill is lightened by these songs. They are also sung on festival days when women gather in the evening to tell stories, sing songs and play games. Besides these there are bigger narrative songs too.

1. Praised be the father's stout heart. He has courage even to hand over his life and heart into the keeping of strangers.
2. Father dear, please do not harp on how many daughters you have. Like a flock of sparrows they will all fly away and vanish.
3. The father says "my daughter, I have given you to others but I cannot stand guarantee for your fortune".

[The first song is obviously ironical and tells of a father whose heart is not moved even when he gives his daughter to others. All fathers feel it a great burden if there are many daughters. The second song tells him that they will all go away after marriage and then his house will be empty. The third song is about the father who refuses to take any responsibility about a daughter's happiness once she is married. The songs about the mother are innumerable and show a sentiment of deep love].

4. Washer-woman, when you wash my virtuous mother's sari let the water be pure and clear as pure as my mother's virtues.
5. As the mouth waters when one puts a lump of sugar in it, so my mind gladdens at the word 'mother'.
6. The forest cannot be green unless it rains; neither can there be affection without mother.

[The green colour is always symbolical of life and happiness. In Maharashtra a girl wears her first green sari when she reaches puberty, is married in a green sari, gets a green sari as a present

when her son gets married and is clothed in a green sari after her death, if she dies before her husband. On the other hand, a widow must never wear green].

7. One can pay back the father's debt by making the holy pilgrimage of Banaras, but one can never hope to pay off the debt of gratitude to the mother.
8. I turn the stone flour mill with the swiftness of a running deer; that is because my arms are strong with the mother's milk I drank.
9. I turn the huge mill as if it were a toy, the pots of water; I carry on my head reach the heavens; the milk I drank at my mother's breast gives me the strength to do this.

[When women fetch water from the well, they carry it on their heads in pots placed one above another. The woman says she can carry so many pots on her head that the topmost reaches the sky].

10. Did any one notice the sweet fragrance of a jasmine (*jāī*)? The hefty *kevaḍā* however has filled the whole street with its strong scent.

[This songlet brings forth the difference between a girl and boy. *Jāī* is the small white sweet-smelling jasmine. *Kevaḍā* is a big thorny leaf of the type of *sisal* and has a very strong smell].

11. I am weaving from the strands of my life a cloth of affection. My sweet daughter, wrap it round your husband and son.
12. The father and mother are strong and powerful and yet they cannot prevent the poor lowing cow being taken away by the butcher.

[In this song the lowing cow is the little weeping bride being taken to her parents-in-law's home].

13. Is it not surprising that the father of the bride gives his child and has to bow down to the feet of those to whom he gives the gift?
14. The parents who reared and then gave away their daughter are treated like thieves and the son-in-law stands in the street like a money-lender demanding his money.

[The daughter cannot remain for long at the father's house after marriage; the son-in-law comes and demands her back in an arrogant way as if her own parents had been stealing her from the rightful owner].

15. The son-in-law is like the petty cereal *hulgā*, you give him the daughter of your stomach and he pays back by talking haughtily.

['Child of my stomach' is a very usual phrase when talking about sons and daughters. *Hulgā* is a cereal which is not very nourishing, is very hard to cook and not very palatable].

[The following couplets are about brother and sister. After marriage a father almost never goes to visit his daughter — a mother never. A married girl may come to visit her parents. The only person from the father's house who can and does go to the sister is the brother. He is her champion with whom she can talk about her joys and sorrows. He brings her the annual brother's gift but he too becomes a stranger when he marries and then under the influence of his wife either forgets or wilfully neglects the sister.]

16. Even more than a son I love my younger brother. He and I were constant companions in my childhood.
17. We two sisters are like two wells of two villages. The fine strong brother is like the fine green corn-field in the middle. (The jowar-corn is fine, being watered by the wells — The brother thrives because of the love of his two sisters who are brides in neighbouring villages on either side).
18. The brother was on the point of drinking water, he had drawn from the well; but he did not, when he heard that the sister was cruelly treated at the father-in-law's house.
19. God has given me enough in the husband's house which is my kingdom; but brother dear, I still look forward to your annual present of a piece of cloth for my bodice.
20. The price which my brother pays for the piece of cloth he presents to me for my *choli* (bodice) is as high as that for a *sari*. Those who have no brothers wonder at this extravagance.
21. This beautiful black *sari* with red border and the end embroidered with the sacred name of Rama is the gift of my darling brother.

22. My eyes are aching and red by staring at the street in expectation of his arrival. I cannot understand how my own mother's son has become like a stranger to me.
23. The rain comes in torrents and vanishes as suddenly. My brother too has forgotten me since the birth of his daughter.
24. He gives a dozen excuses for not going to the village of his sister; but if he has to go to the daughter's village he immediately takes away the bullocks from the plough.
25. The brothers are mine own. What are the sisters-in-law (wives of brothers) to me? But I call them mine. Do we not string beads together with a precious amulet?
26. The brother was buying for me a *choli*-cloth (special cloth for bodice) for one rupee but his wife made him buy one which costs only half as much.
27. After the death of the parents the father's house is lost to me. Now if I go on a visit my brother's wife says please put up at the *sarai* on the outskirts of the town. *Sarai* is a public building where travellers can live without paying anything).
28. In this age the brother no longer cares for the sister. The *choli*-piece which should be a gift for me is in his pocket but he is enquiring about the house of the younger sister of his wife.

[The relationship of a man to his wife's younger sister has already been explained in the preceding chapter. The folk-songs of the whole of the northern zone stop here. When the brothers and sisters are estranged they remain so for the whole life; but in Maharashtra the custom of the sister's son marrying the brother's daughter heals the breach. The haughty sister-in-law as the bride's mother, puts her head on the husband's sister's feet and everything is again as sweet as before].

29. The gold-smith is busy night and day. I am bringing my brother's daughter as my son's wife and am getting lovely gold ornaments made for her.

[In India gold ornaments are generally made to order].

30. Dear Aunt—father's sister—let us go to our parents' house. The messenger who has come to take us away is my father who is your brother.

31. The messenger for the one says we both should go. My darling brother entreats us to go with him to his house.

The following are the songs about the relations by marriage.

32. My mother-in-law is my own father's sister, my father-in-law is a simple soul and my wise husband is their sweet son.
33. The mother-in-law harasses me and the husband's sister, who is but a guest of a day and a half helps in this harassment by continuous incitement against me.
34. Dear lady, do not harass the daughter-in-law. The son is like the magnolia in our garden and the daughter-in-law is a sweet jasmine brought from others and planted near the magnolia.
35. Sweet daughter, bear the cruelty of your mother-in-law without murmur. In so doing you will be praised by all.
36. I have two small boxes. One for the red kumkum, the other for bees-wax. My sweet little brother-in-law is a support to my married bliss.

[*Kumkum* is the auspicious red powder which every Maharashtra woman who is not a widow puts on her forehead in the form of a circular spot. Bees-wax is used as a base for this powder. The chief thing is *kumkum* bees-wax is a help].

37. The sister-in-law—wife of my husband's younger brother—has come with great reluctance and anger to put her head on my feet. But behind her stands my sweet brother-in-law always anxious to please me.

[The relationship of a woman to her husband's younger brother has already been explained in the preceding chapter].

38. God Maruti, reduce my life so as to give a full hundred to my bangles.

[A married woman wears a certain type of bangles, which are broken as soon as the husband dies. The husband is spoken of in song and proverb as "my bangles"].

39. I gave my whole life for him and loved him with my heart. But what use was that? His heart is iron and his body is stone.

40. I gave him all my devotion but he is like the stone which remains sunk in water without absorbing any moisture.
41. My mind is disgusted at his constant abuse. It is like the Banana leaf which is torn in shreds by unceasing wind.

Harassed by the mother-in-law and the husband's sister, despised and treated cruelly by the husband, at last a woman says :

42. By some mistake God gave me the birth of a woman. Like a hired bullock which is hard driven by all, I am on the point of breaking.
43. God Rama, I fall at your feet and fold my hands and pray to you, never again give me the birth of a woman.

[There are happy songs too of a beloved wife and the envied mother of sons. Here only a very small sample of the current songs is given. Recently very valuable collections of these have been made by various men and women; of these the *Stri-jeevana* by P. S. SANE is a collection from the West Coast. Another collection appeared in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. X, 1941-42, under the caption "Maharashtra folk-songs on the grind-mill." There are folk-songs published in other volumes of the same journal from other zones and regions of India].

CHAPTER V

THE KINSHIP ORGANIZATION OF THE SOUTHERN ZONE

GENERAL

The southern zone is here intended to cover those areas of southern and central India where the languages of the Dravidian family are spoken. For our purposes it is convenient to divide this Zone into 5 regions :

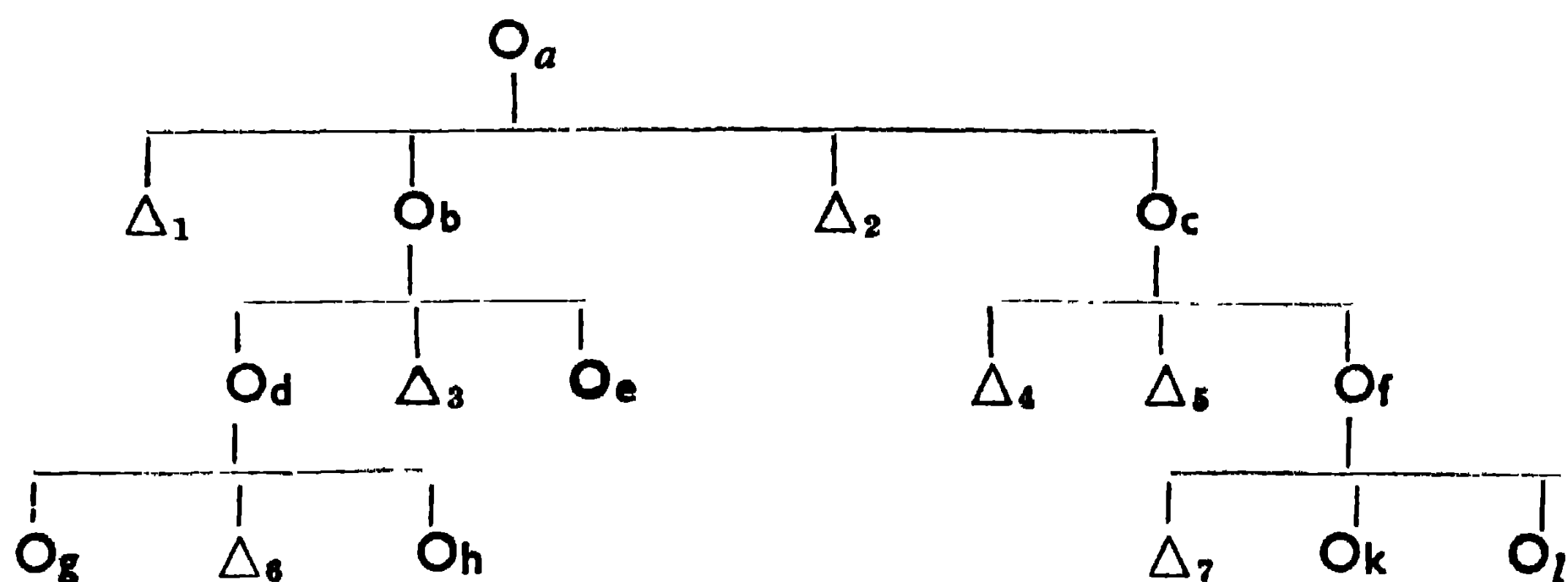
1. Karnatak, where the Kanarese or Kannada language is spoken and whose people are called Kanarese or Kannadigas. Between Karnatak and Malabar is a small sub-region where the two languages Tulu and Kodagu are spoken, both of which, though distinct languages, are allied to Kannada.¹
2. Andhra Pradesh or Telingana, where Andhra or Telugu is spoken and whose people are called Andhras or Telugus.
3. Tamilnad where the name of both the language and the people is Tamil.
4. Kerala or Malabar where the language spoken is Malyalam and the people are known as Malyali.
5. This region extends north of Andhra Pradesh from the the forests of the lower reaches of the Godavari river through Bastar and Western Orissa into southern Bihar. It is a region of mixed languages and peoples. The predominant populations are tribal peoples, the most important among them being the Koya, Gond and Khond who speak Kui, the Kolam who speak Kolami and the Oraon who speak Kurukh. Besides these tribes who speak Dravidian languages, there are various other tribes speaking Munda (Austro-Asiatic) languages such as the Bondo, Gadaba and Saora of Orissa; the Ho, Santal and Kharia of Bihar and Bengal. In addition to the tribal peoples, there are also Hindu populations who speak Aryan languages. This region is thus a contact region of peoples who speak languages belonging to three distinct language families. The family organization of the Dravidian-speaking peoples of this region reveals differing degrees of contact and assimilation with neighbouring elements. The terminology is greatly affected by

Marathi, Uriya and Bihari, but in some cases preserves forms which help us to interpret the meaning of terms in other Dravidian areas.

The southern zone presents a very complicated pattern of kinship systems and family organization. Though the patrilineal and patrilocal family is the dominant family type for the greater number of castes and communities, there are important sections of the population which are matrilineal and matrilocal and quite a number whose systems possess features of both types of organizations. As in the rest of India, most castes in this zone allow the practice of polygyny and there are some who practise both polyandry and polygyny.²

In Karnatak, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnad and among certain important castes of Malabar the predominant form of family organization is the patrilineal and patrilocal joint family. The family is composed of similar categories of kin as in the north. The males are born and live all their lives in the house of their paternal kin, while their wives are brought in from other families and the girls born in the family are given away as brides into other families.

In this zone among the western and southern people, in Malabar the Nayar, Tiyan, some Mohammedan Mopla, and in the Kanara district the Bant, the family is matrilineal and matrilocal. The matrilineal joint family called Thārswād is made up of a woman, her brothers and sisters, her own and her sister's sons and daughters. The following illustrative diagram shows the members of such a household :



The ancestress is a, her daughters are b and c, and sons 1 and 2, the children of b are daughters d and e and a son 3. The children of c are two sons 4 and 5 and a daughter f. The children of d are a son 6 and daughters g and h, and the children of f are a son 7 and two daughters k and l.

The remarkable fact about this household is that no relations by marriage live in this house. The possible kinship of women to one another is that of a daughter, mother, sister, mother's mother, mother's sister and sister's daughter, while the males are related to the women as brothers, sons, daughters' sons and sisters' sons. The relationship of the males to one another is brother, mother's brother and sister's son.

The wife of every male member of the household is a member of another household where *her* mother, brothers, sisters and their and her children live. A male visits his wife occasionally and therefore in the household described above, the husband of each married woman visits her occasionally. Thus no affinal relation lives in the family,³ while some blood-relations (children of the males) are excluded. The absence of companionship of father and children, husband and wife and the complete independence of the women as regards their livelihood from the earnings of their husbands, results in a family as different from the northern family as it is possible to imagine.

The patrilineal family is like that of the north as regards its members and need not be described in detail at this stage. In spite of these diverse patterns of family organization, there are certain institutions which are found among a majority of the people in the southern zone and which are not so widely distributed in the north. One such institution which seems to be almost universal in the southern zone is the system of exogamous clans. These clans are exogamous divisions in an endogamous caste or tribe. There are patrilineal clans among patrilineal people and matrilineal clans among matrilineal people. The clan is called by different names in different linguistic regions, as also among different castes in the same region. It is called *bedagu* or *bedaga* or *baḷi* among many Karnatak castes. The Kota of Nilgiris call their exogamous divisions *keri*; the Kottai Vellal call them *kilai*, the Koya call theirs *gatta*, the Kuruba *gumpu*. Some Telugu people have the word *iṇṭi-peru* (house-name) for such divisions, which is like the Tamil word *viḍu* or *vitu* (house) and *illamper* or Malayalam *illom* (anglicized form of *illam*) or *tara* (the name of the house) for such divisions. In Travancore the word *veli* is also used. Besides these the Sanskrit word *gotra* is used widely for these sub-divisions. (These and many other words used for clans will be found in *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*—EDGAR THURSTON, Government Press, Madras, 1909).

The actual clan-names show a very wide range over the plant

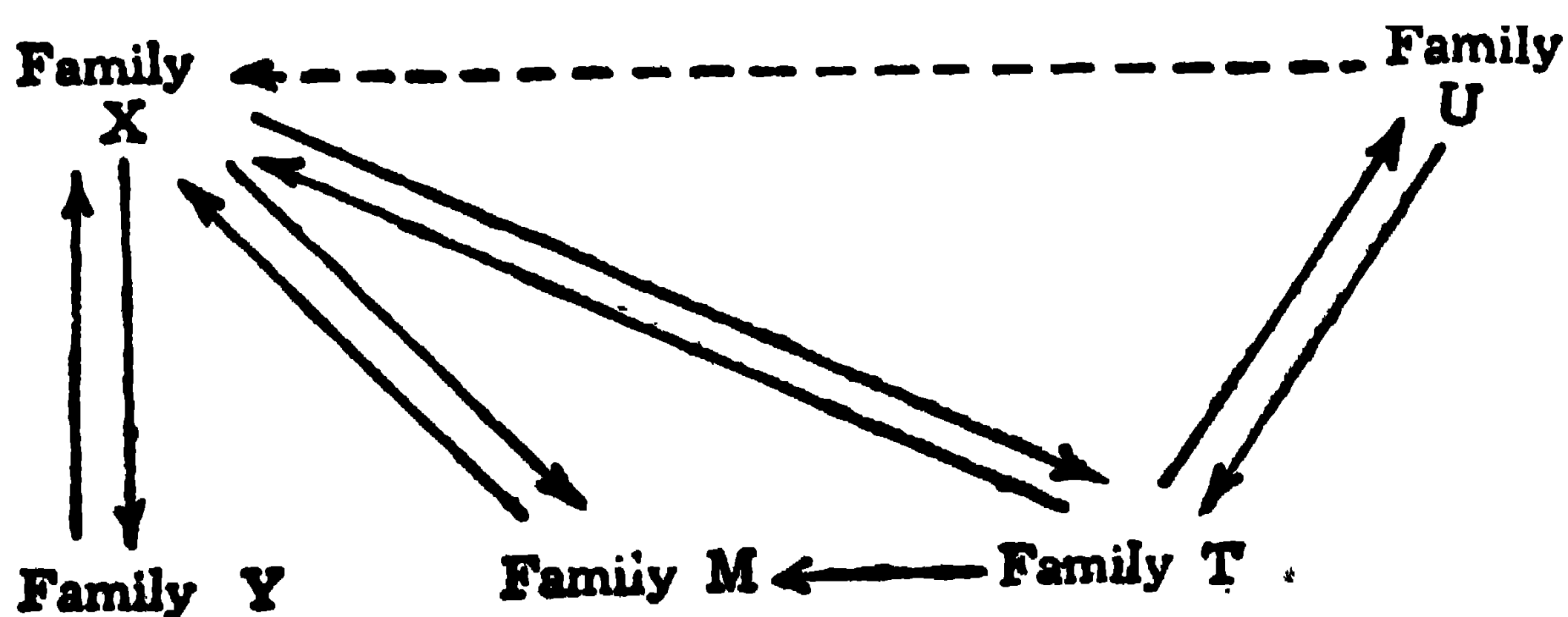
and the animal world and inanimate things and artefacts. There are thus clans which are called *āné* (elephant), *āvu* (snake), *beṭṭā* (cane), *hunāṣi* or *cindhala* (tamarind), *bangar* or *cinna* (gold), *belli* (silver), *macoli* (axe), *bandi* (cart), *hutta* (ant-hill), *gundala* (stone), *malli* (jasmine) etc. These divisions occur among many castes widely separated from each other both geographically and in social status.⁴

As regards the territories of these exogamous clans there is again a difference between these and the northern patri-families and Rajput clans. In the north it was found that there was no name to distinguish one patri-family from another. A man has no surname, nor a totem; he is "so and so", the son of "so and so", of "such and such" a caste and of "such and such" a village". The memory for genealogies, though very tenacious, does not go beyond a few generations of ancestors and descendants. A caste in a village is held to be of one patri-clan and so no marriage is allowed within a village. Not only one village but a group of villages are supposed to be settled by one patrilineage and so marriage among its members is prohibited. Also in Rajasthan certain territories are in possession of one clan. In the south on the other hand, there does not seem to be this type of identity of a clan with one village or one territory. More than one inter-marrying clan may live in one village and practise inter-marriage for generations. It has been noted by Dr. Haimendorf that the Gonds, when migrating and founding new villages, prefer to form a group of inter-marrying clans so as not to have to go far to seek spouses. The clan-organization thus affects not only the marriage-practices in the south but also differentiates the village settlement of the south from that of the north.⁵ In some parts of the south, i.e., on the west coast, where rice and coconut culture and homestead economy prevail, there are no village communities comparable to those in the rest of India and there the marriage is based only on the principle of exogamy governing the *Illoms* or *Veli*.

A further analysis of how the clan actually functions is necessary to understand the relation between the clan and the family. In my investigations I found no caste or sub-caste which was divided into only two exogamous inter-marrying clans. A caste in the south is generally divided into a number of exogamous clans with names of animals, plants or objects. A person from one clan can seek a spouse from any other clan except his own. Thus if there are five clans A, B, C, D, and E, a man from clan A can choose a bride belonging to the B, C, D, or E clans. This freedom

of choice in most cases is however purely theoretical, inasmuch as investigation shows that in a given village a family belonging to clan A chooses its brides predominantly from B and C and that no marriage transaction may have been entered into with families of the clans D and E. A new marriage seems to be determined by the marriages which have taken place already. The first marriage creates obligations about giving or receiving daughters which restricts the choice in all subsequent marriage transactions. These obligations are not the obligations of the members of a clan but of a family. If a man of the family x belonging to the clan A marries a woman of the family y belonging to the clan B it is necessary that in the next generation the family x must provide a daughter to the family y , or the family x must receive another daughter from the family y . In this context always the extended joint family is meant. If in the next generation for the lack of suitable partners the transaction is withheld, the obligation is carried over to the generation after that. The families x or y do not think that the obligation is met by marrying any unrelated girl from the opposite clan. This results in great resistance to giving daughters to or receiving daughters from a family or a clan with which no previous marriage transaction can be established.

In a southern family the question of bringing a bride from a family of a new clan arises only after all the obligations due to previous marriages have been fulfilled. The new family wishing

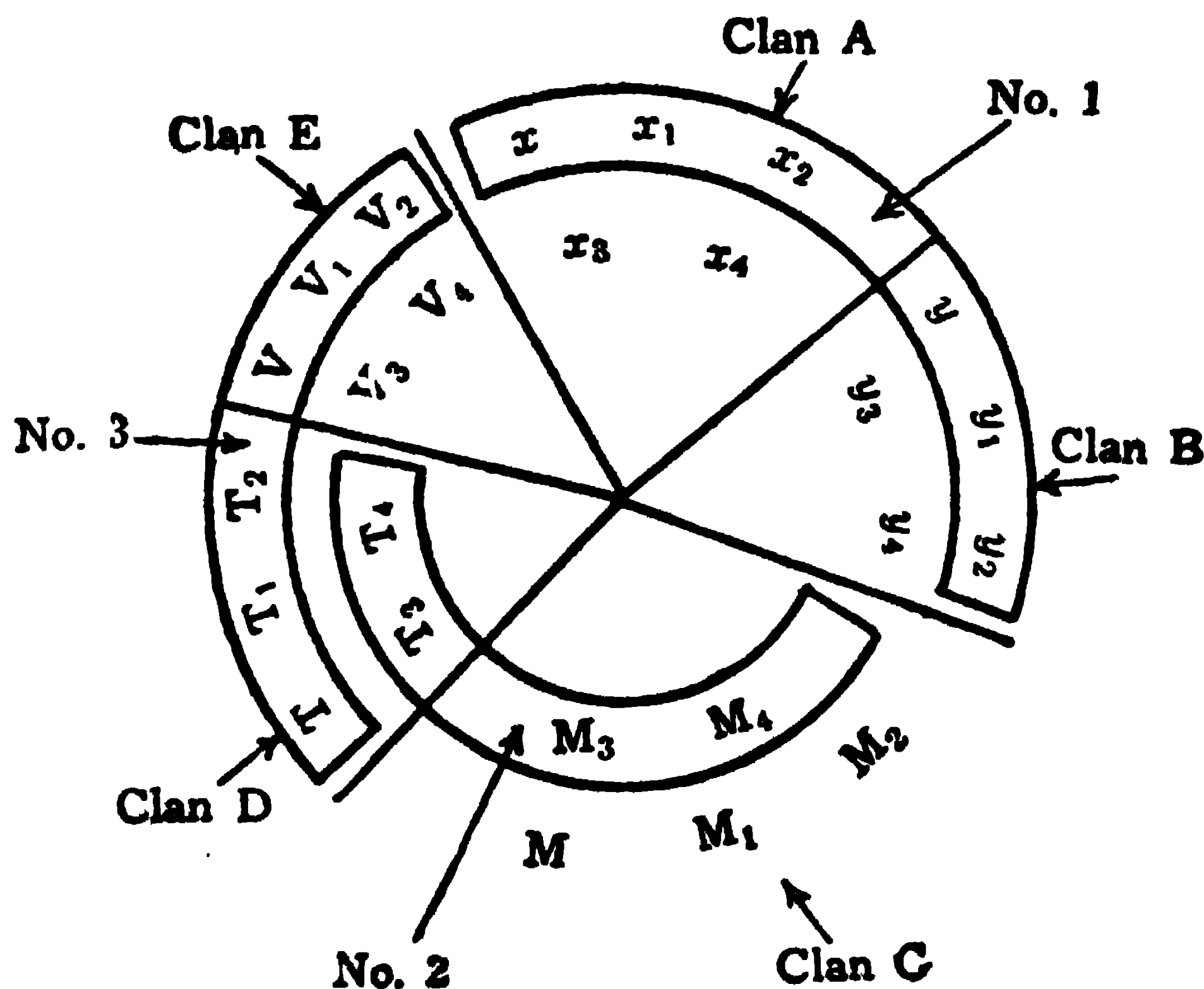


[The arrow denotes the giving of a daughter]

to give a daughter must first establish to the satisfaction of the caste elders that it had either given to or received a bride from the family in question, or that it has given or received a bride from a family which in turn has received or given a bride to the family

in question. The family X has marriage transactions usually with Y and M. It had a few such transactions with T. The new family U also could show a few transactions with T and so could be accepted for such purposes by the family X. This elaborate precaution ensures that the new family belongs to the proper endogamous division and that it is a partner in the in-marrying smaller group to which one belongs.

This illustration makes it clear that in a caste divided into exogamous clans, inter-clan marriages to cover all the clans never take place. Within an endogamous caste are thus formed smaller circles of endogamous units made up of a few families giving and receiving daughters in marriage. These smaller endogamous circles are not as absolutely endogamous as the caste but great dislike is shown by people to marry outside the smaller units. These smaller units, which we may call *curram* or *curru* (pronounced *chutram* or *chutru*) following Tamil usage, are not made up of exogamous clans but of a few families from some exogamous clans. The endogamous caste is thus divided further into smaller



CASTE Z.

units which, for all practical purposes, are mutually exclusive. The full freedom theoretically bestowed for choosing a spouse from a

clan other than one's own is thus never realized. The diagrammatical representation of the Caste Z given below will make this clear.

In the caste Z there are five exogamous clans A, B, C, D and E, each clan consists of five families $x, x_1 \dots x_4; y, y_1 \dots y_4; M, M_1 \dots M_4; T, T_1 \dots T_4$ and $V, V_1 \dots V_4$.

x, x_1, x_2 and y, y_1, y_2 are families which form a daughter-exchanging unit No. 1.

M_3, M_4 and T_3 and T_4 form another such unit No. 2.

V, V_1, V_2 and T, T_1, T_2 form the third such unit. There may be others also.

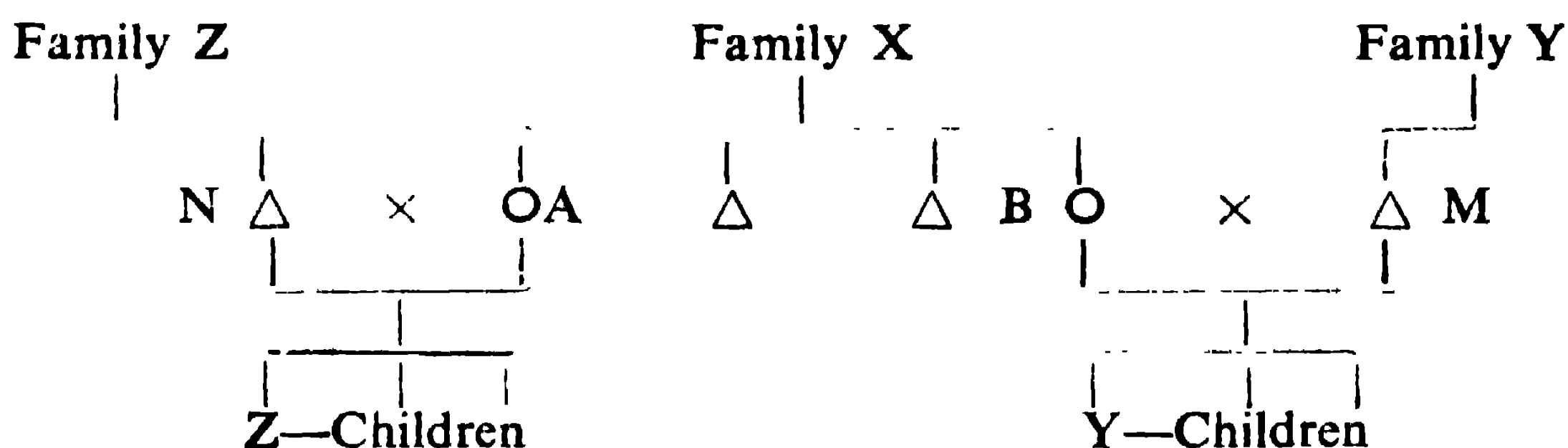
Under certain circumstances the choice is restricted even to one family, so that we find that for generations marriages have taken place among two families only.

When such transactions occur, there is a very large number of reciprocal kinships. The existence of such relationships and of terms indicating them is not due simply to a dichotomous division of a whole caste into two exogamous clans and theoretical considerations about possible mates, but to the actual fact of marriage transactions between two families. The relationships are not just 'theoretically' reciprocal but are actually so.

This raises certain considerations about the relation between clans and families, as to whether clans are not enlarged families as in the case in northern India. It is clear that a certain type of reciprocal terminology can arise in a multi-clan society because two families prefer exchanging daughters and that moities as defined by W. H. R. Rivers need not be present. Though important for an understanding of the formation of human societies this consideration has no direct bearing on the theme of kinship organization as described in the present work and may be left for future discussion.⁶

The types of marriages allowed in south India conform to the rule of clan exogamy. There is only one exception and that is that there is a general prejudice against the marriage of the children of two sisters, i.e., of maternal parallel cousins. This taboo is not observed in certain castes (Komati of Andhra Pradesh and the Kuruba of some parts of Andhra and Karanatak), who allow such a marriage if the maternal parallel cousins belong to different *balis*. In South India a man can and does sometimes marry his wife's younger sister, two sisters sometimes marry two brothers and this possibility may have resulted in the prejudice against the marriage of maternal parallel cousins. If two sisters are married

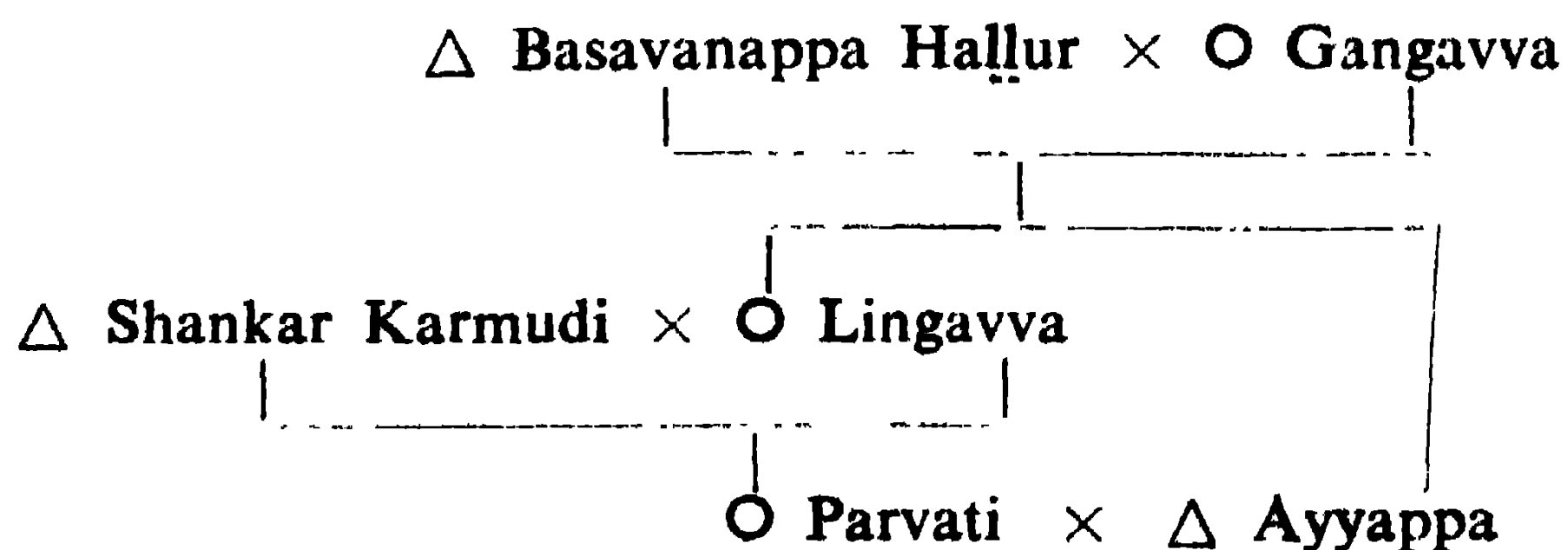
into one family, their children will belong to the same paternal clan, and so marriage is prohibited. If two girls marry into different families they create different marriage obligations which do not touch the families into which they marry. Thus if two sisters A and B of the family X marry respectively M of family Y and N of family Z the family Y enters into an obligation towards X, and the family Z also independently into an obligation to the family X, while no such obligation exists between the family Y and the family Z. We may say that though the families Y and Z can enter into a marriage bond on the principles of clan exogamy, there is no obligation to do so.



The families Z and Y, because they have received brides from the family X are in duty bound to give brides in return or receive again brides from X. They each have definite marriage obligations with reference to the family X. They have however no such obligation towards each other.

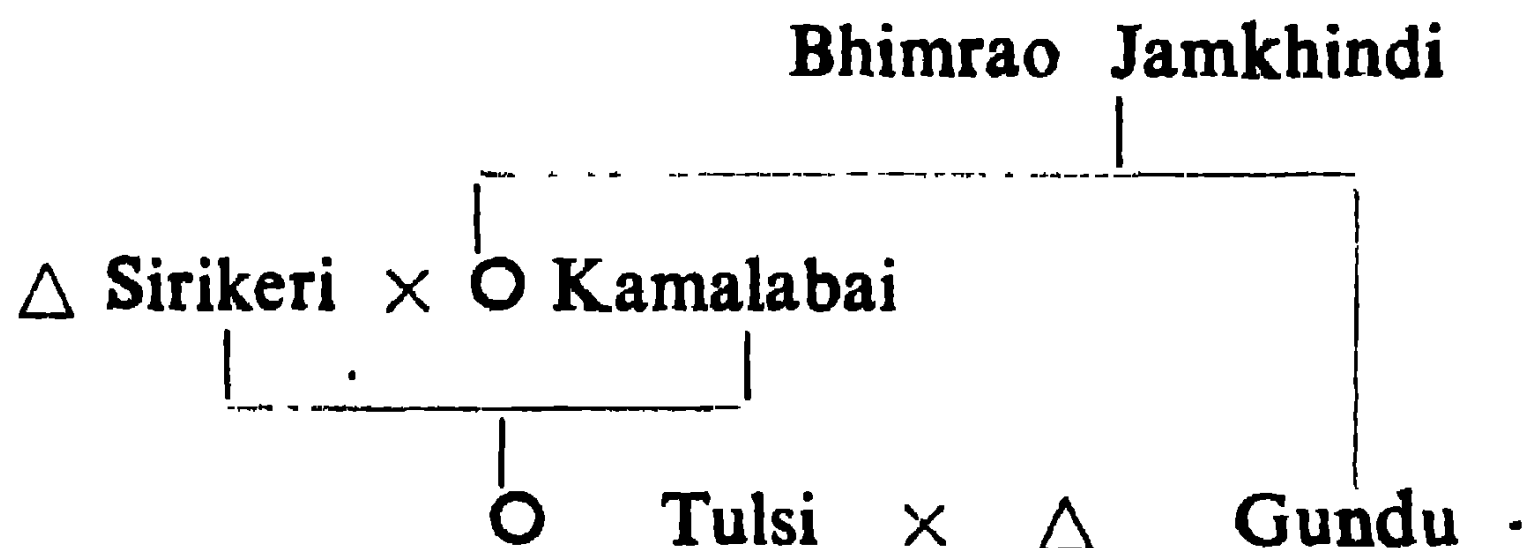
That one marriage leads to other necessary alliances can be seen from the type of preferential mating in the south.

1. In a large number of castes the first preference is given by a man choosing his elder sister's daughter as a bride. There are innumerable instances of such marriages. A man's elder sister is given in marriage to a family which is led into an obligation to give the daughter of the marriage back to the family from which they had originally received the bride. The following genealogy makes this clear.



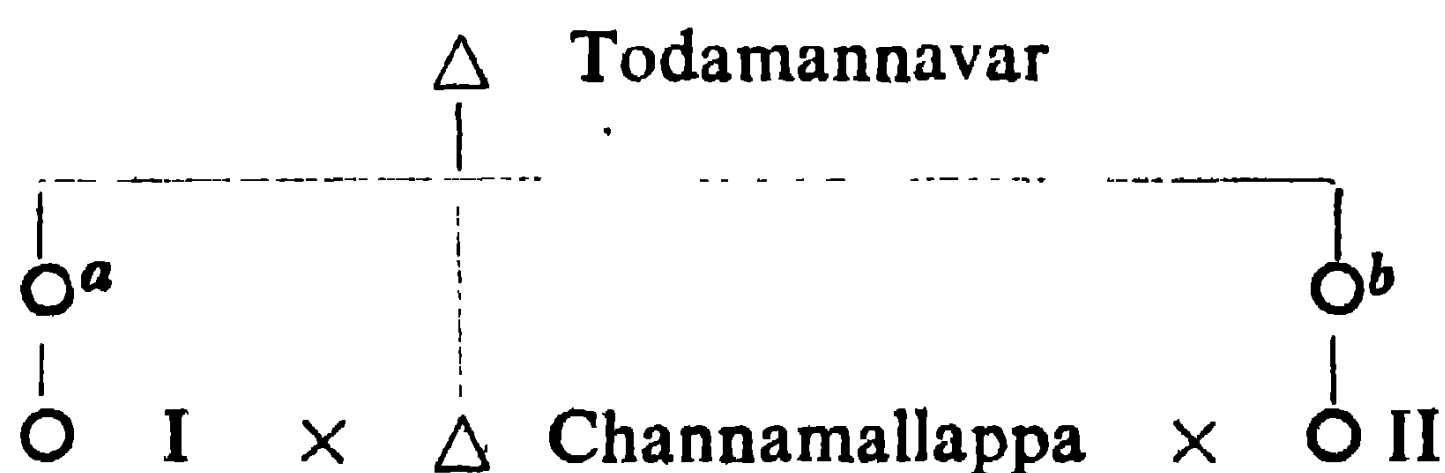
The Hallur family had given their elder daughter Lingavva to a man (Shankar) from the Karmudi family. The daughter of Lingavva is Parvati Karmudi, who has married Ayyapa the younger brother of her own mother.

The Karmudi family have thus made a return of a bride to the Hallur family.



In the Brahmin family shown above, Bhimrao Jamkhindi had, among other children, a daughter Kamalabai, who was given in marriage to a man of the Sirikeri family and her daughter Tulsi is now married to her mother's younger brother Gundu of the Jamkhindi family.

The right or obligation of a man to marry his elder sister's daughter is felt very keenly and I have one case in which a man (Lingayat) had to marry the daughters of both of his elder sisters.

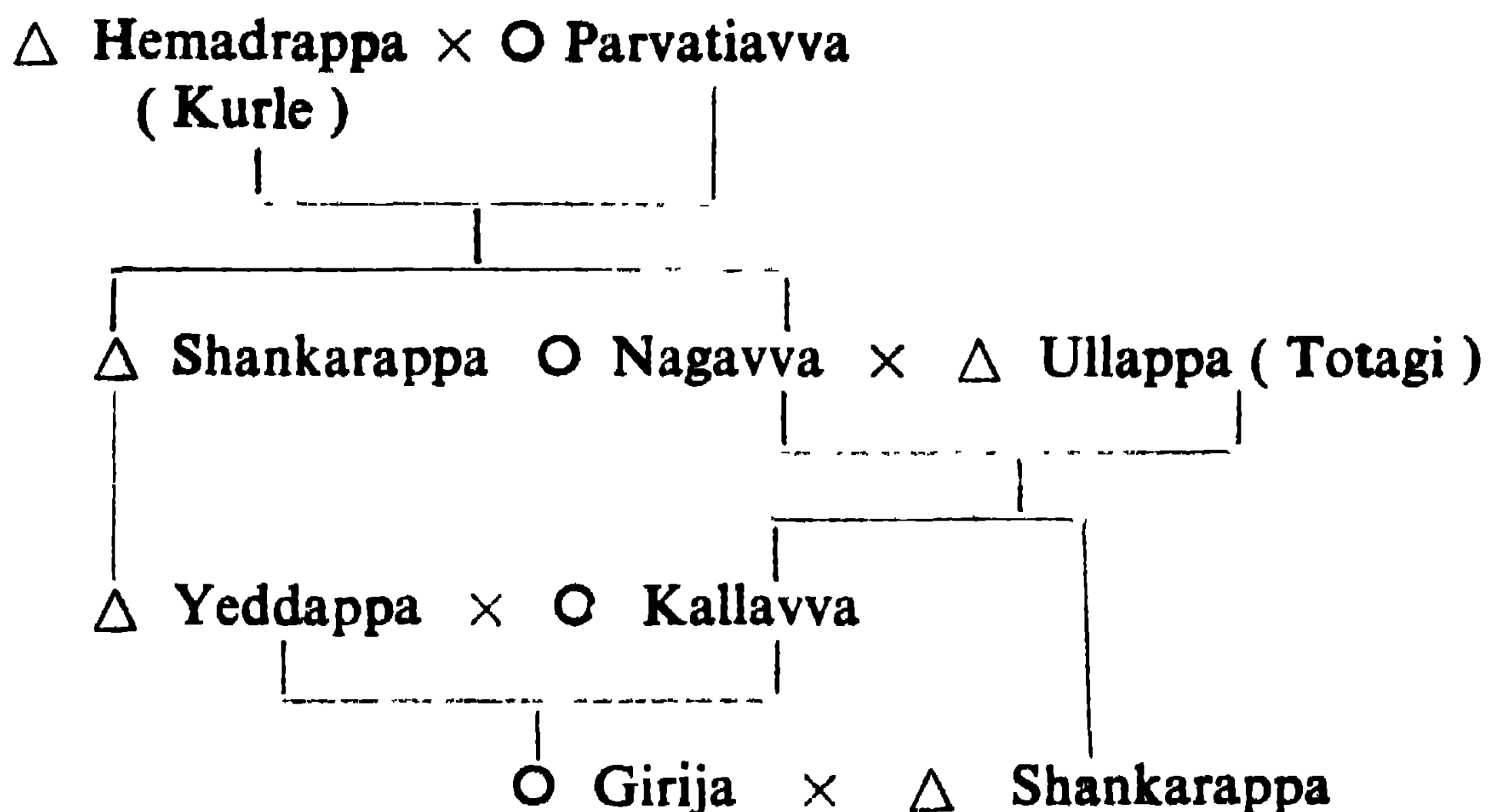


Both the wives (who were daughters of his two elder sisters *a* and *b*) died and the man is now married to a woman who was not related to him previously.

Among non-Brahmin castes (Hindu as well as Lingayat) there is a taboo against a man's marriage with the *younger* sister's daughter. I have not come across such a marriage. Among Brahmins, however, though in the majority of cases the marriage is with the elder sister's daughter, a few cases of marriage with the younger sister's daughter have also come to my notice. The marriage of a woman to her maternal uncle, i.e., of a man to his sister's daughter is taboo among all matrilineal communities of the south which I have examined. They abhor even the thought of such a union.

2. Among the preferred marriages a man's marriage with his father's sister's daughter (i.e., a woman marrying her mother's brother's son) comes next among a very large number of castes.

The following genealogy illustrates this type of marriage as also the maternal uncle-niece marriage already described.

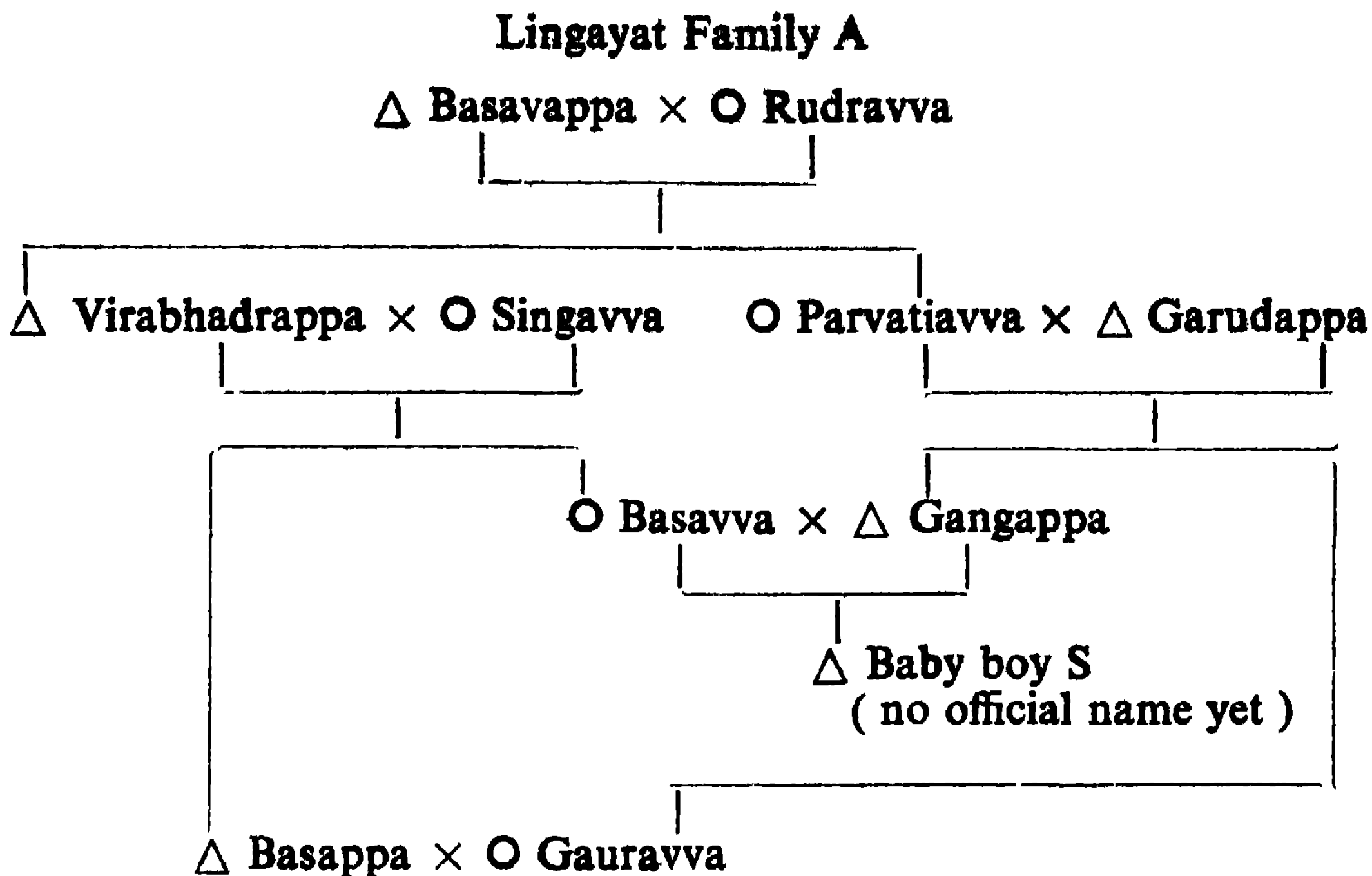


Shankarappa Kurle's sister Nagavva is given in marriage to Ullappa of the Totagi family. Shankarappa's son Yeddappa married Kallavva the elder daughter of his father's sister Nagavva. Girija, the daughter of Kallavva is now given in marriage back into the Totagi family to Shankarappa who is the younger brother of Kallavva, the mother of Girija.

In the examples given above there is the principle of return. The family which gives a daughter expects one in return. This return is however effected in the next generation as in the case when a man marries his father's sister's daughter. In the case of the maternal uncle-niece marriage, the girl to be returned belongs to a generation lower than the man to whom she is given in marriage.

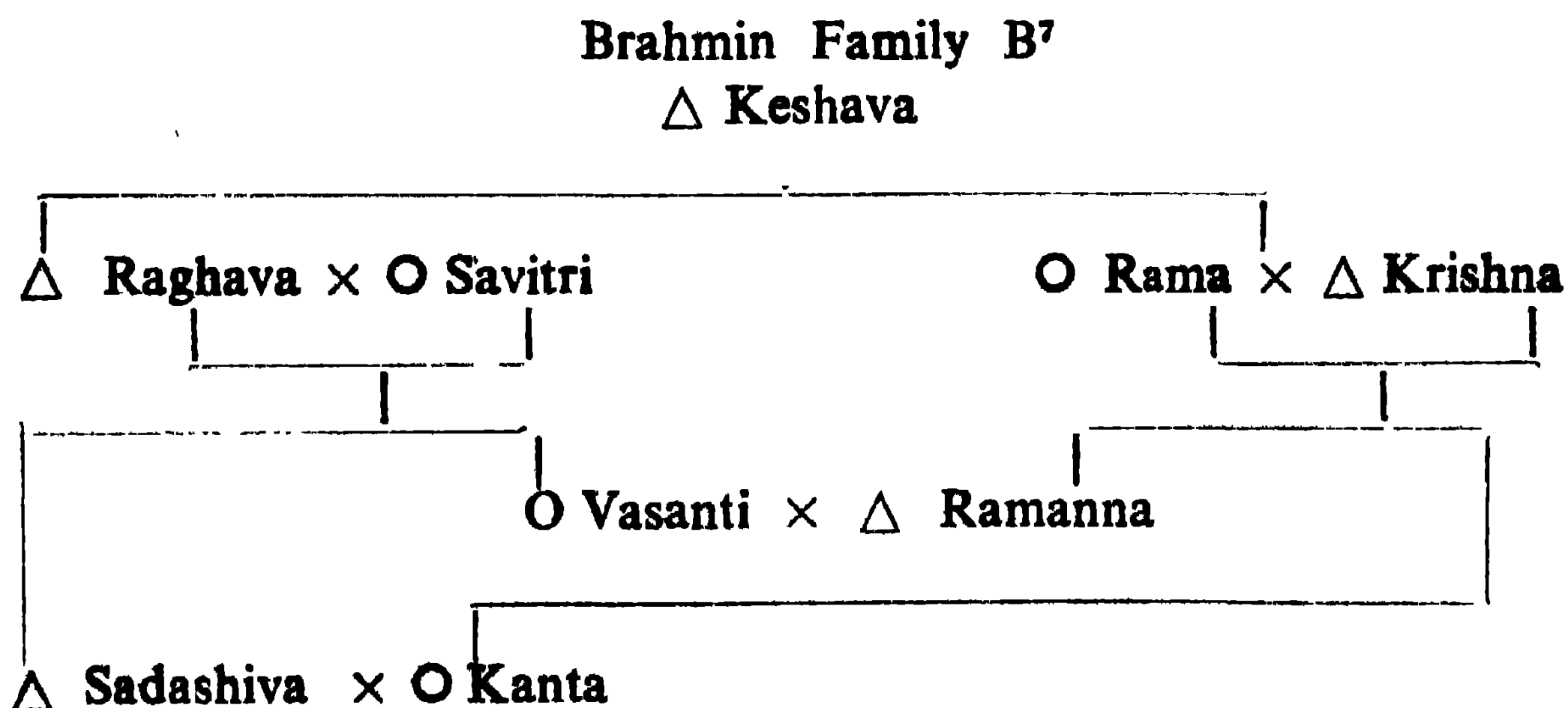
There are a number of cases of exchange of daughters in the same generation. These are however not as numerous as the other two types of marriages illustrated above. The genealogies of the Lingayat family A, p. 221 and a Brahmin family B illustrate such marriages.

In the first genealogy, Virabhadrappe and Parvatiavva are brother and sister. Virabhadrappe's son Basappa is married to Gauravva the daughter of Parvatiavva, and Parvatiavva's son Gangappa is married to Basappa the daughter of Virabhadrappe. There is thus an exchange marriage between the children of a brother and a sister. Out of such a marriage arises a number of



reciprocal relationships and the coalescing of different types of kin into one.

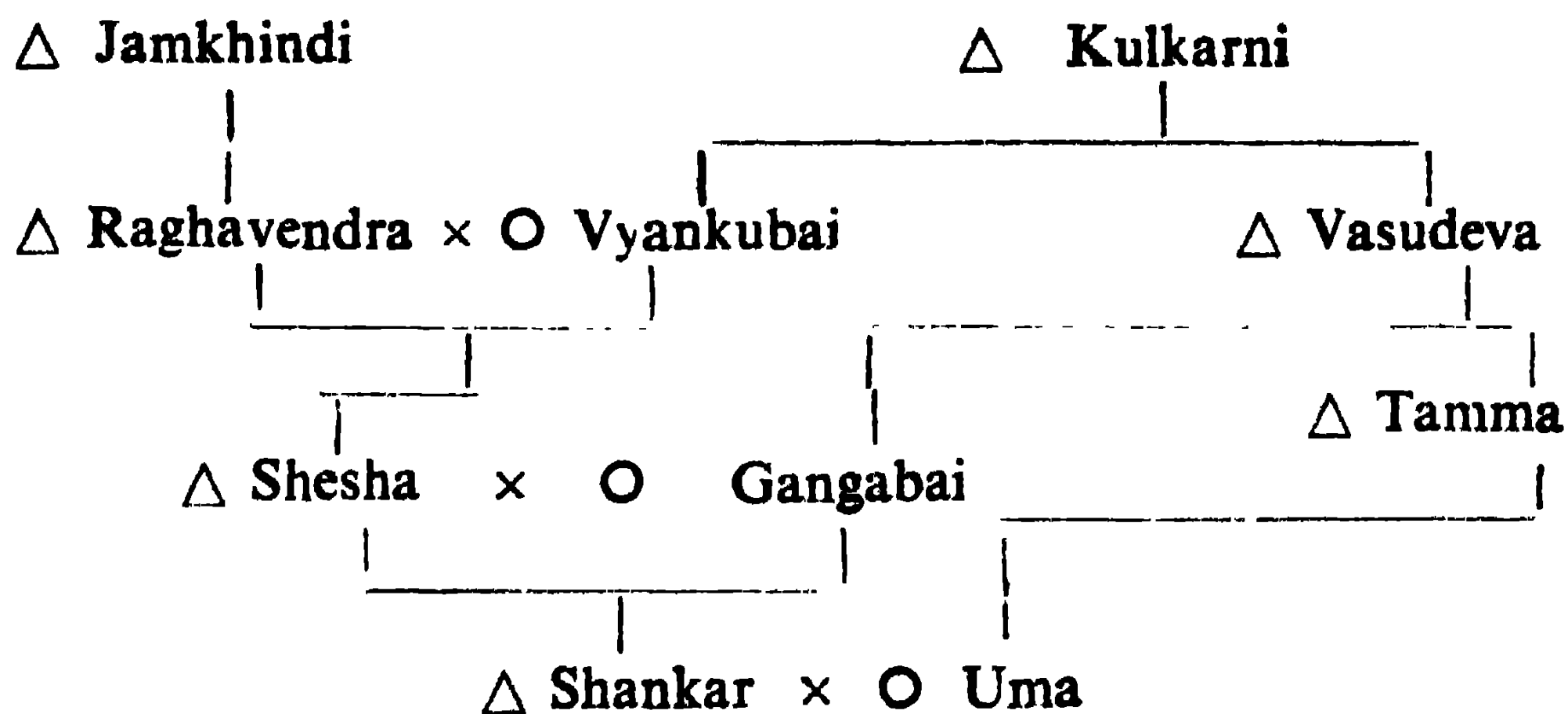
Parvatiavva is the father's sister of Basappa and Basavva. She is also the mother-in-law (wife's mother of Basappa and husband's mother of Basavva) of them both. Virabhadrappa is the maternal uncle as well as father-in-law of Gangappa and Gauravva. Basavva and Gauravva are both each other's husband's sister and brother's wife. Basappa and Gangappa are both each other's sister's husband and wife's brother. For the infant son S of Gangappa, Gauravva is both the father's sister, as well as the maternal uncle's wife, and Basappa is both mother's brother as also the father's sister's husband. Gauravva and Basappa would in addition also become his parents-in-law if he marries a daughter of theirs, which is very likely.



The example B is taken from a family of Chitrapur Saraswats. These people are bilingual. They speak Konkani (an Indo-European language) and Tulu or Kannada and though they are northern immigrants in the Dravidian regions, follow the practices of marriage of the Dravidian people. In this example also the brother and sister Raghava and Rama have exchanged their daughters.

3. The third type of preferential mating is that of man with his maternal uncle's (mother's brother's) daughter. There are some castes like the Havig Brahmins of Karnatak, the Kallar of Tamilnad, some types of Reddi in Andhra (Telingana) and many others who allow only this type of cross-cousin marriage. My first enquiries in Telingana and Karnatak showed that this practice was followed sometimes by one part of a caste, while another followed the other type of cross-cousin marriage. I met a few castes to whom the question "does a boy marry his *atte's* (father's sister's) daughter or his *māmā's* (mother's brother's) daughter?" was quite meaningless. They countered by saying that the question was meaningless, as the *atte's* daughter was also the *māmā's* daughter. Further investigation showed that these people had practised marriages by exchange of daughters of the kind illustrated in the genealogies of the Families A and B shown above and so the *atte* (father's sister) was also the *māmā's* (mother's brother's) wife (i.e., the father's sister had married the mother's brother) and so the question was meaningless. In the case of others who practised only one type of cross-cousin marriage, which as we saw is prevalent in the central zone, there are generally claims of social superiority, or inter-caste hypergamy. The Reddis claim to be Kshatriyas. The Kallars, though a poverty-ridden people, also claim to be some kind of Kshatriyas. Reddis and Kallars also have a hypergamous division of society, but it is not as formalized as that among the Marathas or Rajputs. Among the castes which allow, or rather make it obligatory for a man to marry his mother's brother's daughter and forbid marriage with the father's sister's daughter, there are some proverbs or sayings which express these sentiments. The Havigs and some other Brahmins use an expression which is identical with that used in the Maratha country.⁸ *Balli tiragu byādā* means "a vine must not return". The vine or creeper is the girl given in marriage to a family and her daughter must not return back to her father's family as a bride. Such a transaction is supposed to bring ill-luck and if such a marriage does take place, some expiatory ritual is performed. The Kallars say *koḍuttavan koḍu eḍuttavan edu* — the givers should give,

the receivers should receive.⁹ Those who have given a daughter to a particular family must continue to do so ever afterwards; those who have received one from a particular family must always go on receiving from that family. The following genealogy is an illustration of this type of transaction occurring for three generations.



For three generations the family of Kulkarni have given their daughters to the Jamkhindi family. There is a movement of daughters in one direction only.

Besides all these marriages (which are preferred types), there are also quite a number of marriages outside the group of close kin. These happen if there is no suitable mate in one's own kin-group, i.e., if any of the preferred types described above are not possible. Among younger people, especially of the educated classes, there is a tendency to seek advantageous marriages outside the kin-group. This tendency sometimes causes great sorrow and frustration. Cross-cousin marriage and especially the uncle-niece marriage is beginning to be considered as outmoded and a thing to be ashamed of among those groups which have come in contact with the northern Indians and the English-speaking people. The proposed unified civil code* for all India contemplated the immediate abolition of the custom of uncle-niece marriage and an eventual abolition of the cousin marriage so prevalent in south India. None of the reasons advanced for this arbitrary judgement was worth serious consideration. In spite of this latest attempt on the part of the north to impose its social mores on the south, all types of marriages described above are so frequent that in my investigations I came across hardly a single large family where

* The different Acts passed by Parliament regulating Hindu marriage since the first edition of this book are referred to in greater detail in Chapter VIII.

either the one or the other type of marriage had not taken place. In the south there is a definite bias for marriage within a very small kin-group, just outside of the immediate primary family. The only rule for southern marriages is clan-exogamy and no type of marriage discussed above infringes this rule. There are however certain types which, though conforming to the principle of clan-exogamy, are not allowed and where the prohibition seems to be based on some other considerations. The following are illustrations of such taboos.

1. A man can marry his *elder* sister's daughter but is not allowed (except among Brahmins) to marry his *younger* sister's daughter.

2. Though widow-remarriage is practised among almost all castes (except Brahmins), a widow is not allowed to marry either the elder or the younger brother (real or classificatory) of her husband. In regions where the Dravidian-speaking population has come in contact with the northern population the taboo is not observed and the marriage of a widow to her husband's younger brother is allowed,¹⁰ but elsewhere, especially in the southern areas namely, Tamilnad, Andhra, Karnatak and Kerala this taboo is general.

3. There seems to be a general taboo against the marriage of a man with his mother's sister's daughter even if she belongs to a clan different from his own, though some informants averred that such a marriage can take place if the *ballis* of the cousins are different.¹¹

4. The complicated kinships arising in a family owing to maternal-uncle-niece marriage and cross-cousin marriage, sometimes result in two people being related to each other in more ways than one. There may be one relationship where a marriage would be ordinarily forbidden, while from another angle the relationship may be one in which a marriage usually does take place. I have not been able to get any rule for definite guidance in such cases. People seem to act according to convenience and the circumstances of a family in such cases. One such case is illustrated in the genealogy reproduced below.

Bhimappa and Ambavva are the children of the woman Nin-gavva who is the daughter of Gauramma. Iravva and Bharmappa are the children of the woman Bhavaniamma who is the sister of Gauramma and are therefore maternal parallel cousins of Nin-gavva. Iravva is the maternal aunt of Bhimappa and Ambavva.

In this genealogy the question put to my informants was about

As against these taboos one more form of marriage allowed and practised in the north and also allowed among the Dravidians is the marriage of a man with his wife's younger sister. There are a number of instances of such a marriage at the present date. This type of marriage has always been practised in the south, the best known example of such a marriage is that of king Vijayaditya of Badami (8th century A.D.). His chief queen was called as usual the Pattamahadevi¹² and his second queen, who was the younger sister of the above, was given the grandiloquent but empty title of Trailokyamahadevi (the queen of the three worlds).

In Malabar I saw a case of a man living with the younger sister of his wife and was told by him that after the death of his wife, her younger sister came to him to look after him and the children. At the time of my visit the children of the first wife were grown up, while those of her sister were quite small, one an infant in arms. Apparently it was not felt necessary by the man or his younger sister-in-law or the community that a formal marriage was necessary in this case. Such casual relationship is very rare but it shows that the marriage of a man to two sisters either simultaneously or one after the other is considered quite the proper thing.

It thus appears that sorrorate is allowed by both the northern and southern usages. Among both people there is a taboo against a man's marriage with his wife's elder sister.

We now turn to a more detailed consideration of the kinship terminology in the southern zone.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY IN THE TAMIL LANGUAGE

A bare narration of the usages as regards marriage is not enough to give a complete idea of kinship organization. One can give it only by giving examples from actual records as was done in the case of the Sanskrit speaking people. We saw that the northern literature fully reveals the functioning of the kin and gives expression to sentiments, stresses and strains inherent in a particular structure. It was not possible for me to undertake a similar task for the Dravidian area, as I am not familiar with the languages. Secondly the literature of the south is imitative to a great extent. The best know poets sing the stories of Ramayana and Mahabharata which reflect the family structure and the sentiments of the northern people. Some of the original stories like the story of 'Cilappatikāram' do not give much material on family organization. I have no doubt that there is still a vast amount of litera-

ture in the shape of folk-stories, dramas, songs and proverbs which will amply reward a study from this point of view, but it is not possible for me to undertake it.

The little material I could gather is given below in connection with the discussion of the kinship terminology in the Tamil language which is given here as the type representing the southern terminology.

Tamil kinship terminology cannot be said to be the source for the terms found in the other Dravidian languages in the sense that Sanskrit terminology is the source of the modern north Indian kinship terms. The exact relationship of the southern languages to each other is not yet fully traced, but I have chosen the Tamil terms because their meaning could be fixed by referring to literature which is older than the literature of the other Dravidian languages. A number of words in the other languages are found in Tamil and it gives the forms of words which may be more purely Dravidian.

The terms given in the Appendix were gathered by personal enquiry among Tamil-speaking people of various castes. Then they were checked by the help of the Tamil Lexicon and lastly an attempt was made to get at their exact use in Tamil literature. I have to confess however, that the last effort could be but very meagre in view of my very scanty acquaintance with the language. The Table also contains terms in the other three major languages of this zone).

The first thing that one notices about the kinship terms in Tamil is the very large number of terms used for some relations. A number of these terms seem to be borrowed and completely integrated into Tamil. Not only kinship terms but other words are borrowed from other languages very freely by Tamil and so it is a language which possesses a surprising multiplicity of synonyms which has made the language very rich, though sometimes difficult to interpret. In its earliest literature Tamil uses Sanskritic terms, not as foreign loan words but as its own vocabulary with complete ease and freedom. Early Tamil poets were equally at home in Sanskrit and Tamil, and Sanskrit nouns and verbs are Tamilized not only in their formal grammatical aspect but also in their meaning and in their functional aspect. This will become clear in some cases as regards the kinship terms.

In the list given above it was found necessary to drop terms which are used for different kin in literature but which are not kinship terms as such.¹³ Such terms are, for example, *aṇ-pillai*

(male-child) used for son as well as husband; *irai* (an elder, the master) used for elder brother and husband; *tunaivan* (protector) also used for brother and husband. They are of great use in studying the kinship pattern and the feelings attached to a particular type of kin, but the number of such terms and expressions is so great and entails such a detailed study of Tamil literature that it had to be set aside for the present. The terms discussed below are pure kinship terms of reference and sometimes of address and wherever possible their usage is illustrated from Tamil literature.

A number of terms are used for father. They can be arranged in the following groups :

- (1) *tantai, tantay, entai, muntai*
- (2) *ai, aiyan*
- (3) *appā, appan, appu, takappan*
- (4) *aṇṇan, aṇṇā*
- (5) *attan, accan*
- (6) *ammān*

The word *tantai* is found in one form or other in most of the Dravidian languages. It seems however to be made up of at least two words, a pronominal prefix *tan* ('self' or mine) and the word *tai*. This is borne out by such terms as *entai* (*en* = our + *tai*)¹⁴ and *muntai* (*mun* = first + *tai*) found in literature.

In Tiruvāchagam we find two words *tantai* and *tantāy* used for father. *Tai* and *tāy* appear to be two ways of pronouncing and of writing a word which means father. In Prakṛt also we have the word *tāya* derived from Sanskrit *tāta* (father). The Tamil word may be borrowed from Prakṛt. This seems very likely when we find that the word *tāyi* is used for 'mother'. *Tāyi* is the usual feminine form of the word *tāta* and though it is not found in Prakṛt it may well have been coined in Tamil. We have already seen that in Hindi we have similarly derived words from *tāy* or *tāa*. The Hindi words being *tāu* and *tāi* (father's elder brother and his wife). *Tantai* is thus a word made up of *tan* + *tai* and means "my father".

Another possibility is that the word *tantai* is made up of two pronominal prefixes plus a noun, *tan* + *ta* + *ai*. The word *ai* alone is used for father. *Ta* + *ai* has an analogy in another word *takka* (*ta* + *akka*) where instead of the usual *tan* prefix we have merely a *ta*. Thus *ta* + *ai* gives us the word *tai* and thinking that the whole word was a noun, people, gave it another prefix.

This possibility seems remote because there are innumerable forms like *tantai*, *nuntai*, *muntai*, *entāy*, *puntai* which all have *tai* as the noun to which are prefixed *tan*, *mun*, *pun* and other pronominal and adverbial prefixes. The very fixed meaning of the word *tantai* (father) shows that the word is derived from Prakṛt *tāy* (father).

The words *ai*, *aiyan* have a more general application and are used for any elderly relation or an unrelated but respected person. It seems to be derived from the Sanskrit word *ārya* through its Pali form *ayya* or *ayyaka*. We have seen that the Sanskrit word *ārya* has a very wide use and the same wide application is found for the words *ai* and *aiyan* in Tamil. *Tam-aiyan*¹⁵ is found in Tiruvāchagam and also *aiyan*¹⁶ and may mean father though the translator translates *tamaiyan* as elder brother—*tannuṭai keḷvan makan takappan tamaiyan*—“her husband, son, father and elder brother.” As all male relatives are mentioned, this translation seems to be quite correct. In Cilappatikāram also the word *tamaiyan* occurs and is translated as ‘elder brother’.¹⁷ *Aiyan* is found in plural form as an honorific title attached to Brahmin names in Tamilnad (as for example Sadāśiva Aiyar, Ananthakrishna Aiyar). In Tiruvāchagam the god Shiva is called the god of Aiyars.¹⁸

It may be noted that a particular Brahmin sect exists still which calls itself Brhaccaraṇa Malayanālā Brahmins, and they apply Aiyar as a suffix to their names and are worshippers of Shiva.

Ai or *Aiyar* thus also seems to be borrowed from Sanskrit *ārya* and have retained the original connotation and application of the word.

The third group of words are *appā*, *appan*, *appu* and *takappan*. *Takappan* is made up from *ta* (= *tam*) + *appan* and is found in literature and also in speech. (cf. footnote 15). At the present day *appan*, *appā* and *appu* are used almost universally in Karnatak as kinship terms and also as honorific suffixes to the names of men of all castes (Hariappā, Ningappā, etc.). In Tamil literature it is used for father.¹⁹ The word *aṇṇā* is used at present generally for the elder brother, but it is used in literature for father or lord.²⁰ In Tulu *aṇṇe* means mother’s brother (Tulu dictionary). The words *attan*²¹ and *accan*²² are also used for father. The word *attan* is not in use in spoken Tamil now. The word *accan* is used in the districts bordering Kerala and is the usual word for father in modern Kerala in the Malayalam language. It also means “the great man.”

Ammān is used for father in Tamil literature while addressing

god.²³ In modern times the word is but rarely used and it means mother's brother. The word is used in this sense in Kerala.

Except *tantai* all the words, i.e., *aṇṇā*, *attā*, *ayyā*, *accan* and *ammān* seem to be used for any elderly or powerful or respected person and only gradually seem to have acquired their present fairly definite connotation. Even now the connotation is not as definite as, e.g., for the word *pitā* in Sanskrit. In *Kambarāmāyaṇa*²⁴ we have the following line *ammaiyāy appaiyāy attane*. An alternative reading gives the line as "*ammaiyāy attaiyāy appane*". It is an address by Sita to the monkey-hero Hanuman. She says "Oh Attan, you have become my *ammā* (mother) as well as my *appā* (father?)" or in the alternative reading it would mean "Oh Appan! you have become my *ammā* (mother), as also my *attan* (father)". *Attan* and *appan* were terms which could be used for any respected stranger as also for father. The word *aṇṇan* or *aṇṇal* is also used for any person for whom respect is felt. *Aṇmai* means nearness or height and *aṇṇāmalai*, the southern mountains, are supposed to get that name because of their height.²⁵

The words for father's father and mother's father are the same. *Tattā* or *thattā* and *pattā*. For the males above that generation the word is *kollu-pāttan*.

Father's brothers are referred to as *perī* (great) + *appā* (father) and *citta* (small) + *appā* (father) according as they are older or younger than the father. The word for father's brother thus appears to be the same as that for the father. The same words are used also for father's father's brother's sons. The words for mother's brother are *āmmān* and *māmā*. We have already seen that the word *māmaka* is used in later Sanskrit and the modern word *māmā* used all over India is derived from the word *māmaka*. The word *māma* or *māmaka* does not seem to be Indo-European in its origin. There is no way to know whether it is a Dravidian word. Both the Sanskritic and Dravidian people may have borrowed it from some third source or it may be an original Dravidian word.

Ammān is derived from the word *ammā* and would thus mean the "man from the mother's (house)." But we have already seen that this word is used also in the meaning of 'sire or father' in literature. The word *māmanār* which is the plural form of *māman* is used at present for father-in-law.

The many words for mother are also best arranged in groups: (1) *tāyi*, *tāy*, (2) *āyi*, *āyāl*, *āy*, (3) *aṇṇai*, *tammannai*, (4) *ammā*, *ammāl*.

Tāyi is the feminine of the word *tay* discussed above. In Kannada the word *tāy* or *tāyi* is generally associated with *tande* (Tamil *tantai*). *Tāy* is only a shorter form of *tāyi*.²⁶

Āyī, *āy*²⁷ or *āyāl* are all derived from Sanskrit *ārya*. The suffix *āl* is used both for man and woman, it means a ruler or a person and may stand for both a man and a woman, e.g., *aṇṇāl* a ruler, but sometimes it is used in such a way as to indicate a woman and then appears to be in opposition to the suffix *āṇ*. The word *āyī* as we have already seen is used in Marathi and Uriya for mother and grandmother respectively.

Aṇṇai and *tammannai* are the same words except that the latter word has the prefix *tam* which is found with so many kinship terms. *Annai* is used for mother,²⁸ or elder sister.²⁹

Ammā and *ammāl* with many other variations are very common words used for the mother. The word *ammāl* seems to be in opposition to the word *ammāṇ*. *Ammāṇ* and *ammāl* are thus words formed from a common word *ammā*. One means father or mother's brother so that *āṇ* seems to be used as a masculine suffix. The other word means mother and so the feminine suffix *āl* is used. *Ammā* thus seems to be a word which had no original definitely feminine connotation. *Ammāṇ* is male *ammā*, *āmmāl* is female *ammā*. It would seem as if *ammā* the most common word for mother had a more general meaning connoting 'somebody respected.' The word *ammā* is found in Kannada, Malayalam and Telugu today. It is used as a suffix to a woman's name as *appa* is used for a man's name, i.e., Laxmiammā, Pārvatiammā, etc. It everywhere means mother or woman. But to this rule there is one exception. In modern Tulu *amme* means father and *appe* means mother. In medieval Kannada also we find *amme* used for father in expressions like "ammaṇa gandhavāraṇam" — the father's intoxicated elephant (the father's favourite brave son).³⁰ In modern Kannada we have a reminder of the ancient usage of the word *appe* for mother in the term *abbe* for mother which I had recorded without understanding its significance.³¹

The word *paṭṭi* is used for father's mother and mother's mother *koḷḷu-paṭṭi* for great grandmother, i.e., for father's and mother's grandmother.

The word *perror* is used for parents. *Or* is a plural suffix (male or female) meaning those two. *Perrudal* means 'to give birth to'. *Perror* are the persons who have given birth to oneself. This word is descriptive and not like Sanskrit *pitarau* which is dual of *pitṛ* = father. The word for father's sister is *attai*. The same

word is used for the wife of mother's brother and for the mother-in-law.

Mother's sister is called *peri-ammā* (elder mother) or *cinn-ammā* or simply *citti* (the little mother) according as the relative is older or younger than the mother of the speaker. The same terms are used for the wife of the father's elder and younger brother.

There is no term for brother. There are separate terms for an elder brother and a younger brother. The expression *utapirappu* — 'born of the same parents' is used sometimes for brothers and sisters together. *Utapirantau* is used in the same way for a brother but the word is not used frequently and is a descriptive word which I have never heard. Quite frequently one hears the expression *aṇṇātammanderu* (*aṇṇā* and *tampi*) used for brothers in Karnatak.

The words for elder brother are *aṇṇā* or *tammaṇṇā* and other words derived from these. We have already seen that this word is used for father also.

The words for younger brother are *tampi* and *empi*. *Tampi* is the word used most at the present time. *Empi* is found in literature and shows that the word *tampi* is made up of two words, a prefix *tam* and a word *pi*, just as *empi* is made up of *em* ('my') and *pi*. The word *pi* is apparently a short form of the word *pin*. We have also the following words in Tamil: *tarpin* which is the same as *tampi*, the prefix *tam* becomes *tar* and the word *pin* is retained in full. *Pin* is used for younger brother. Then there are words like *pinṇai*, *pinnān*, *pinnavan*, *pinpirantan*, all meaning younger brother and *pinṇaval*, *pinpirantāl*, which mean younger sister. The word *pin* means either younger or "one who comes after". *Pin-pirantān*, thus means "a male child born after one-self". The word *pinṇai* is used for one's own younger sister and for the mother's younger sister in Tamil and for any small girl in Gondi.

The words *aṇṇā* and *tampi* are used for father's brother's sons and mother's sister's sons, i.e., for parallel male cousins also.

Many words are used for the sons of the father's sister and mother's brother.

Attai-pillai means the child of *attai*.

Attān is used for a son of the father's sister or mother's brother if he is older than the speaker. (In a personal communication I was told that *attan* is also used for husband among some Tamil-speaking people).

Māman-pillai or *mā-pillai* is mother's brother's child. *Ammanci* is also used. The word is also used for a younger sister's husband. The words *maccampi*, *maccāṇṭār* are used for the elder male cross-cousin or for the elder sister's husband or for husband's elder brother.

Maccān, *maccinān* and *maccunan* are used for a cross-cousin generally but they are used sometimes for a younger cross-cousin.

Maituṇaṇ or *nan-maittuṇaṇ* (one *maittuṇaṇ*). is used for a male cross-cousin or for a sister's husband or for wife's brother. *Murai-piḷḷai* or *mūrai-māpiḷḷai* is also used for a cross-cousin. It can also be used for any person one can marry.

Meṇarikkam or *meṇārikkam* denotes the relationship by marriage especially that between brothers-in-law. *Maittuṇmai* and *maccunamai* also denote the same relationship.

The words *maittuṇaṇ*, *maittuṇmai* seem to be derived from the Sanskrit word *mithuna* or *maithuna*.

The word *maccūnan* may either be derived from Sanskrit *maithuna* or it may be another form of *maccina*.

The words *maccunan*, *maccāṇṭār*, etc. may be original Dravidian but they are not found in all Dravidian languages. There is a Tamil root *meccudal* which means to appreciate.³² There is a similar Kannada root *meccu* meaning to appreciate. In a 13th century Marathi poem one finds the word *mechu* meaning preference. Apparently the word is borrowed from Kannada.³³ If these words are to be traced to the root *meccu* then they all mean "the preferred one" and can be used for the cross-cousin. In Kannada *meccu koṇḍu hogu* means "to become enamoured of". Some of the words which have the suffix *ān* or which have an honorific plural form like *maccāntār* are terms of respect used for an elder cross-cousin or husband's elder brother or elder sister's husband. The words *maccān*, *maccunān*, *maccinā* seem to be late in Tamil literature.

Two of my Tulu informants had given the words *arawate* or *arawade* for cross-cousins as also for nephews and nieces (children of the sibling of opposite sex). The words were not known to other Tulu-speaking people and I could not understand their meaning until I looked up in the Tulu dictionary of Manning. *Arawatte* or *aravade* is given there as meaning a nephew (cross-nephew or son-in-law) and is said to be the same word as *aḷwade* and *aḷiyā* (nephew in Kannada). There is no Tamil word corresponding to *aḷiya* or *arawade* as a kinship word though *alyan* is given in the lexicon to mean "one who has great love". There is a word *arvam*

which means love and which may be the equivalent of Kannada and Tulu *aliya* or *arawate* respectively. There is a word *uravan-muraiyar* which means relations. We have seen that *murai-mā-piḷḷai* is a word for cross-cousin or a person whom one can marry, so *uravan-muraiyar* may be a word meaning "relations by marriage". *Muraiyar* has that meaning; what the meaning of *uravan* is cannot be fixed from the context.

There are thus a number of words and expressions used for cross-relationship and it would be worthwhile to study these words and the way they are used in literature to understand their exact significance in social relationship.

There are a number of words for elder and younger sister. The words for elder sister are (1) *attā*, *tattai*, (2) *appattai*, *appi*, and (3) *akkā*, *tamakkā*, *tākkā* and *akkāl*.

Attā and *attai* are words used for the father's sister also. That the words may mean own elder sister is also seen from the word *attimper* which means sister's husband or father's sister's husband.

Attan means father. *Attai* or *attā* is apparently a feminine form which is used either for own sister or for father's sister but not for the mother as one would expect.

In the same way *appi* and *appattai* are feminine forms of the word *appan*, which as we have seen above means father. These words are used for the own elder sister. The word *appāyi* is sometimes used for father's mother. It is a compound word made up of *appā* (father) + *āyi* (mother) and is not merely a feminine form of the word *appā*.

The words *akkā*, *akkāl* and *tamakkā* are most commonly used for the elder sister. *Akkāl* is made up of the word *akkā* + *aḷ* and means a person who is *akkā*. *Tamakkā* has the usual Tamil prefix *tam* before a kinship term.

All words like *aṇṇan*, *aiyan*, *ammān*, *attan* have feminine forms. One would expect a masculine form for the word *akkā*, especially as we have a form *akkāl* but there is none in Tamil as far as my scanty knowledge goes. There is, however, a word used by the Gonds which may be the masculine form of *akkā*. The word is *akko* or *āko* and is translated by GRIGSON³⁴ as mother's father. The same word was given to me by my Koya informants and is also found in the vocabulary given by G. G. CHENEVIX-TRENCH in his *Grammar of the Gondi language*.

For younger sister the words are *taṅkai*, *taṅkacci*, *eṅkai* and *taṅkaḷ*.

Taṅkai is a compound word made up of the usual prefix *tam*

and the word *kai*. *Eṇkai* is also made of *en* (my) + *kai*. *Kai* means a hand, a branch or an off-shoot. The word thus means somebody who is younger than me, who is a tender branch. *Taṇkāḷ* also means my little one. We shall find that some of the words used for younger brother and sister are also used for a son and a daughter.

The same words as are used for elder and younger sister are also used for elder and younger parallel female cousins.

For female cross-cousins there are many words. For the elder cross-cousin the words are *attankāḷ* or *attankāi* (the daughter of *attai*) and *ammankāḷ* or *ammankār* (the daughter of *māmā*). *Gāru* or *kāru* is a plural suffix applied to names to show respect. I found it in the Gondi term *ājīkar* used for the elder sister. The other words are *madani* which seems to be a corrupt form of *maitini* the feminine of *maittunān*. *Aṇṇi* is feminine of *aṇṇā* and means 'the elder brother's wife' (who is also the elder female cross-cousin). For younger female cross-cousin the words are *maccini*, *maittini*, *kolunti* or *kolunṭiyāl* (*kolunti* + *āl*). *Maccini* and *maittini* are feminine forms of the masculine words *maccinān* and *maittunān* which are already discussed above.

Kolunti and *kolunṭiyāl* are feminine forms of the words *kolunar* or *koluntan*. While *kolunti* and *kolunṭiyāl* are not found in older literature, *kolunaḷ*,³⁵ *kolunan*³⁶ and *koḷuntaṇ*³⁷ are found in the oldest Tamil literature. In all the older references *kolunaḷ*, *kolunan* and *koḷuntaṇ* mean husband. In a later reference *koḷuntaṇ* is used for husband's younger brother and its feminine form is used in modern times for younger cross-cousin or husband's younger sister or wife's younger sister. In *Tiruvāchagam*³⁸ the meaning of the word *kolumani* is given as luxuriance, softness, tenderness. The meaning of the word *koluntu* is given as tender shoot. *Vāṇa kolumaniye* (occurring in 6, 104 and 105) is translated as the choice (*kolu*), gem (*maṇi*) of heaven (*vāṇa*). It would be better to translate it as 'sweet' gem. *Kolu* seems to be a term of endearment and could be used of husband and then for younger relatives-in-law.

Kompanārkellām kolunte occurs in *Tirupavāi*, Hymn 17, and means "you who are 'the tender shoot' of all women, as graceful as a young bamboo" and is addressed to a young girl.

The expression *māmaṇmakale* "Oh daughter of *māmā*" also occurs and means just a cross-cousin, though the context in which it occurs suits a younger cross-cousin with whom one may joke.

The words for male and female cross-cousins are sometimes

prefixed by pronouns meaning mine or ours; such words are for example *nanmaituṇaṇ*, *nanmaccini*, etc.

The words for own son and for brother's son (man speaking) and sister's son (woman speaking), i.e., for parallel nephew — are (1) *makan*, *makuvu*, (2) *tan-muḷai*, (3) *kaṇ-muḷai*, (3) *aṇpillai*, (4) *putalvan*, *paiyan*, *ciruvan*, (5) *pinnavan* or *pirankatai*, etc. Of these *makan* is the one most frequently used.

Makan or *makuvu* with its feminine form *makal* = daughter and plural *makkaḷ* meaning children are used oftenest. *Makuvu* means small and all these words can be translated by the expression "little one, male", "little one, female" and "little ones."

Muḷai means a sprout. *Tan-muḷai* is "our sprout," and *kān-muḷai* or *kāḷmuḷai* is "little sprout." (*kāl* = son, blossom, cf. *tankāl* = our son). *Aṇ-pillai* means male child.

Putalvan is also a bud or a sprout. *Paiyan* and *chiruvan* are used for a boy or a young man and are found in old Tamil literature. *Pinnavan* is the youngest son or brother *pirankatai* also means the last born.

The feminine forms of the above words are used for the daughter or for parallel niece. They are *makalu pen-ṇillai* or merely *pen*, *penṇu*, *poṇṇ*, *poṇṇu*, *putalvi*, *cirumi*, etc.

The words for boy or girl which mean young man or young girl are also used for husband or wife.

Son's son and daughter and daughter's son and daughter are called *perttan* and *peyartti* or *petti* respectively. They mean "bearer of the name" as generally the name of grandfather and grandmother is given to them. The descendants below these are called *kolluperran* and *kollupeyartti*.

For brother's child (woman speaking) and sister's child (man speaking) i.e. for cross-nephew and niece there are two words most frequently used. They are *maru-makan* and *maru-makal*, they are also found as *marumān* or *marukan* for nephew and *maruki* for niece. The words *arawade* and *aḷiyā* have already been mentioned. *Aḷiya* is a Kannada word used for cross-nephew. All these words are also used for son and daughter-in-law. The word *maru* is derived from a root *maruvu* which has two meanings, to be fragrant or to be joined. It thus seems to be akin to the word *maṇam* derived from *maṇattal* which also has the same two meanings. In Telugu the root is *maruvu* and in Kannada *maduve* both meaning to marry. *Maru-makan* and *maru-makal* would therefore mean son by marriage and daughter by marriage. The same words would be applied to cross-nephew and cross-niece because they

would be one's son- and daughter-in-law. Another word for daughter-in-law is *nam*—(*our*) *kai* (little one). It is used in Cīlapadikāram. It is the same word as for a younger sister or daughter.

The terms for father's sister's husband, mother's brother, husband's father and wife's father are the same. They are *attimper*, *māmā* or *māmanār*. *Attimper* (husband of *attai*) is used mostly among Brahmins. *Māmanār*, the honorific plural form is generally used for husband's or wife's father.

Mother's sister's husband and father's brother are called by the same terms, i.e., *periyappā* and *cittappā*. The terms for mother's brother's wife, father's sister, husband's mother and wife's mother are the same. They are *attai*, *māmi*, *ammāmi* or *māmiyār*. The term *māmi* is feminine form of *māmā*. *Māmiyār*, the plural form is used for mother-in-law.³⁹

In literature a very large number of terms are used for husband. They are not all kinship terms and mean 'the beloved' (*aṇpaṇ*, *iṇpaṇ*, etc.) or 'the lord' (*iṛaivaṇ*, *cāmi*—Sanskrit *svāmin*—, *īcaṇ*—Sanskrit *īśan*). The words given below are used at present. It may be noted, however, that there is a sort of a taboo not only against the name of the husband but also against words meaning husband. A woman or a man makes use of complicated terms or a pronoun to indicate the spouse. Some of these expressions are given below. It should be understood further that there is no one word for husband indicating status or possession as the Sanskrit word *pati* though in literature the idea is expressed in a few words here and there.

Akamutaṭaiyan and *āttukkārār* mean the master or possessor (*utaiān*) of the house (*akam* and *āttu*). *Āi* is the Sanskrit word *ārya* and is but rarely used. *Aṇṇālan* means a person who is *aṇṇā*, i.e., master. *Maṇālan* is the married man or bride-groom. *Kaṇḍan* and *puruṣan* mean 'the man'. *Kaṇḍan* is the same as Kannada *gaṇḍā*. *Attan* means husband. It is not used frequently and seems to be a masculine form of the word *attai*. The words *koḷuṇaṇ* and *koḷuntaṇ* have already been discussed.

The terms for husband's elder brother and elder sister's husband are the same. They are *attan* or *attimper*. The words for husband's younger brother and younger sister's husband are *maccinaṇ*, *maittuṇaṇ*, and *koḷuntaṇ*. The word *maṇchaṇ*,⁴⁰ now out of use, is found in Kambarāmāyaṇa. In Sundarakāṇḍa is also found the word *īlaiivarku* = to my younger brother-in-law. *Ilai* means the 'young one'. In Travancore, among Nambudri Brahmins the word *eḷāyā* was given to me for husband's younger brother. It also

means the 'younger one'. Husband's sister's husband and wife's sister's husband are called *aṇṇā* or *tampi*; for wife's sister's husband the word *śattakan* derived from some Sanskrit word and akin to modern Hindi *sāḍhu* is also used. Son's wife's father and daughter's husband's father are called *attan*, *aṇṇā* or *aṇṇaci* or *samanti*⁴¹ derived from Sanskrit *sambandhin*.

The words for wife are *akamutaiyāl*, *manaiivi*, *āttukārī* (feminine forms of the words *akamutaiyan*, *maṇālan* and *āttukāran*). Another word is *paṇṭāṭṭi* which is a compound word made up of *peṇ* (woman) and *cāti* (species, from Sanskrit *jāti*). This word is found in Malayalam, Telugu (*peṇḍlāmu*) and Kannada (*heṇḍati*).

The words for husband's sister, brother's wife and wife's sister are the same as those for the cross-cousin. *Aṇṇi* the feminine of *aṇṇā* is used for all the older ones of these relations, i.e., husband's elder sister, wife's elder sister and elder brother's wife, while *matini* or *manni*, *maccini* and *koḷunti* are used for the younger (in status) relative, *māttupeṇ*, *naṭtupeṇ*, *maṇattupeṇ* or *nattanār* are words which are also used for these relatives. *Maṇattupeṇ* is the woman of the house in which one is married (?) or a woman who comes to our house through marriage.⁴²

Aiyantī is another word used for the elder brother's wife. It is either a feminine form of the word *aiyan* (which is used for elder brother or father) or it is a compound word formed of *aiyan* + *tī*, *tī* being a word derived from Sanskrit *strī* (woman or wife) like the Hindi word *tiya* meaning wife and means the wife of *aiyan*. (Sanskrit *strī* = Prakṛt *itti* or *tiya* = Tamil *tī*).

Husband's brother's wife is called *akkā* (the elder brother's wife) and *taṅkai* (the younger brother's wife), i.e., the same words are used as for one's elder and younger sister. Sometimes the word *oy-piṭiyāl* (pronounced *orpadiyāl*) is used for husband's brother's wife or wives of brothers may refer to one another by this term. *Pati* = step, *āl* = a person. The whole word means one who has the same status as oneself—who is on the same step.

Wife's brother's wife is called *akkā* or *taṅkai* or *maccinici*. The word *maccinici* seems to be made of the word *maccina* + *icci*, i.e., the wife (*icci* from Prakṛt *itti*, from Sanskrit *strī*) of *maccinān* (the wife's brother). *Maccini* the direct feminine form of the word is used for wife's sister and so a new word is needed for the wife of the *maccinan*. These words are parallel to the northern words *sālā* (wife's brother), *sālā* (wife's sister) and *sālej* or *sālā-eli* (the wife of the wife's brother) which we have already discussed.

Son's wife's mother and daughter's husband's mother are called *akkā* or *tangi* (by man) and *aṇṇi* or *nāttanār* (by a woman).⁴³

Daughter's husband, husband's sister's son and wife's brother's son are called the same as cross-nephew, i.e., *maru-makan*, while husband's brother's son and wife's sister's son are called the same as own son, i.e., *makan*.

Son's wife, husband's sister's daughter and wife's brother's daughter are called *maru-makaḷ* and husband's brother's daughter and wife's sister's daughter are called the same as one's own daughter, i.e., *makaḷ*.

There are certain words for kinship in general. The words oftenest used are *curram* and *uravin-muraiyār*. *Uravin-muraiyar* seems to refer to relations by marriage. *Murai-pen*, *murai pillai* are words which are definitely used for a boy or a girl whom one may marry and so *muraiyar* does definitely denote kin by marriage. If *uravu* has any connection with *aravate* it would also mean the same, but the connection is not clear and the literary use of the term is not very definite. It seems to be used generally for kin or relation. *Curru* can best be translated by the word 'circle' and seems to connote all kinship including the consanguinous and affinal. Thus there does not seem to be the differentiation which one finds, e.g, in Maharashtra between *sage* (one's own) and *soyare* (relations by marriage). Perhaps there may be such a word and it has escaped my attention, but even if there is no such distinction it is not to be wondered at when we consider the fact that in the kinship terminology which we have described above there are no kin by marriage *which are not at the same time relations by blood*. In *Kambarāmāyaṇa* the word *kiḷainar* is used for the own kin. *Sitā* gives a message to all her relatives. First she mentions the people of her husband's house and then she gives a special greeting to her father's people. *Kiḷainar* are the people of one's *kiḷai*. We have seen that *kiḷai* is given as a word for clan by many Dravidian castes and tribes. *Kiḷainar* can therefore be translated as 'clan-mates', 'father's people' as against the *muraiyar*, the husband's people.

A summary of the kinship terms and its peculiarities will at once make clear its salient features as also its differences from the northern terms.

The number of different terms for different relatives is smaller in the Dravidian languages than in any of the northern Sanskritic languages. All the terms for relations by marriage found in the northern systems are absent in the south. In the north there are

parallel terms for the immediate small family, and the relations by marriage like those given below for Sanskrit.

I			II		
<i>Pitr</i>	—	Father	<i>Śvaśura</i>	—	Father-in-law
<i>Mātṛ</i>	—	Mother	<i>Śvaśrū</i>	—	Mother-in-law
<i>Bhrātṛ</i>	—	Brother	<i>Devṛ</i>	—	Brother-in-law
<i>Svasṛ</i>	—	Sister	<i>Nanāndṛ</i>	—	Sister-in-law
<i>Duhitṛ</i>	—	Daughter	<i>Snuṣā</i>	—	Daughter-in-law
<i>Sūnu</i>	—	Son	<i>Jāmātṛ</i>	—	Son-in-law
			<i>Pati</i>	—	Husband
			<i>Patnī</i>	—	wife.

None of the words in column II can be applied to any relation by blood in the northern terminology. In the Dravidian terminology, however, the terms for the relations in column II are absent, except the terms for husband and wife. Even these terms are not exclusive and are applied to other relatives also (*koḷunan*) or they are not status terms but terms of endearment, or merely terms meaning man and woman.

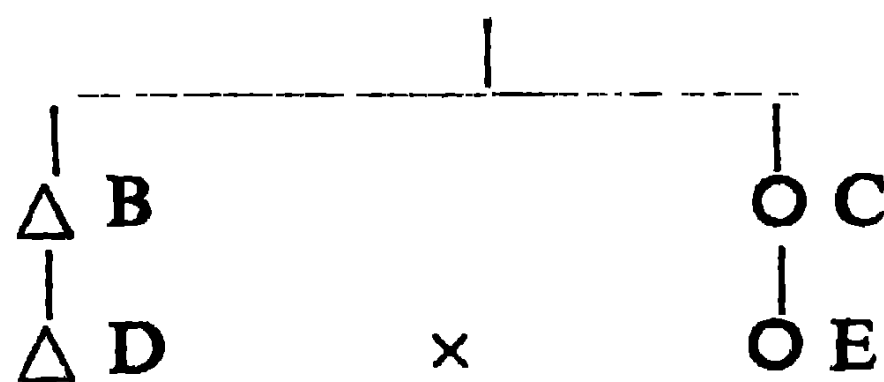
In the north there are terms for extended relationship. Some of these relatives are blood-relations and some are relations by marriage. Thus among aunts, there are two (father's sister and mother's sister) who are blood-relations, whereas the other two are aunts by marriage (father's brother's wife and mother's brother's wife). In the same way two uncles are blood-relations while two are uncles by marriage (i.e., they are husbands of the aunts). For these relations there are ways of expressions to tell whether they are one's own relations or whether they are the spouse's relations. These expressions are found in all modern languages in the north and the example in Marathi is given below.

I		II	
1.	<i>Cultā</i> —Father's brother.		<i>Culat sāsrā</i> —Spouse's father's brother.
2.	<i>Cultī</i> —Father's brother's wife.		<i>Culat sāśū</i> —Spouse's father's brother's wife.
3.	<i>Māvśī</i> —Mother's sister.		<i>Māvas sāśu</i> —Spouse's mother's sister.
4.	<i>Māvsā</i> —Husband of 3.		<i>Māvas sāsrā</i> —Husband of above.
5.	<i>Ātyā</i> —Father's sister.		<i>Ātē-sāśū</i> —Spouse's father's sister.
6.	<i>Ātobā</i> —Husband of 5.		<i>Ātē-sāsrā</i> —Husband of above.

7. <i>Māmā</i> —Mother's brother.	<i>Māme-sāsrā</i> —Spouse's mother's brother.
8. <i>Māmī</i> —Wife of 7.	<i>Māme-sāsū</i> —Wife of above.
9. <i>Culat bhāū</i> —brother through <i>cultā</i> i.e. son of 1.	<i>Culat-dīr</i> —Husband's male cousin (husband's father's brother's son).
<i>Culat bahīṇa</i> —sister through <i>cultā</i> , i.e. daughter of 1.	<i>Culat-naṇand</i> —Husband's female cousin (husband's father's brother's daughter).
In the same way <i>māvasa bhāū</i> and <i>māvasa bahīṇa</i> and <i>māvasa dīr</i> and <i>māvasa naṇand</i> .	
10. <i>Āte bhāū</i> —Brother through <i>āte</i> , i.e., son of 5.	<i>Āte-dīr</i> —Husband's cross male cousin (husband's father's sister's son).
<i>Āte bahīṇa</i> —Sister through <i>Āte</i> , i.e., daughter of 5.	<i>Āte-naṇand</i> —Husband's cross female cousin (husband's father's sister's daughter).
In the same way <i>māme bhāū</i> and <i>māme bahīṇa</i> and <i>māme dīr</i> and <i>māme naṇand</i> .	

In the Dravidian terminology we have terms for all the words in Column I. Dravidian terms can be constructed for the second column but it is not too easy, because owing to cross-cousin marriage, the husband's relatives also become one's own relatives. In the Dravidian kinship system the relatives in Column II, who are aunts and uncles of the spouse and children of these aunts and uncles, would be ego's own primary relations. Thus if the ego (male) marries his father's sister's daughter, then his wife's mother's brother (*māme-sāsrā*) is his own father, etc.

The man D marries E, the daughter of his father's sister. D's wife's mother's (C's) brother (B) is D's father.



Thus one's own extended family is also one's family by marriage and so the complete separation between one's family of birth and family by marriage, which is evident in the northern terminology, is absent in the Dravidian kinship terms. The dichotomy of status and sentiments expressed in such northern terms like *kanyā* (unmarried girls of the family) and *vadhū* (married women), *dhyānti* K...16.

(the same as *kanyā*), and *rānti* (the same as *vadhū*), *māher-vaśiṇ* (*kanyā* living with mother), *sāsurvāśiṇ* (*vadhū* living in father-in-law's house), *sage* (one's own relatives) and *soyare* (relatives by marriage), *māher* (mother's house) and *sāsar* (father-in-law's house), are absent in the south. A girl does not enter the house of strangers on marriage as in the north, her husband is not the perfect stranger to her as he is to her northern sister. Marriage in the south is not arranged with a view to seek new alliances, or for widening a kin-group but each marriage strengthens already existing bonds and makes doubly near those people who were already very near kin. Because of this one difference the pattern for the development of the personality of a man and woman must be entirely different in the north and in the south. No special norms need to be evolved for the behaviour of the married girl or no special precautions need be taken for ensuring her loyalty to the husband's house. Neither does marriage symbolize separation from the father's house for a girl. A woman in the south lives and moves freely in her father-in-law's house. Women are not confined to the house, never to be seen by strangers as in the north.⁴⁴ The southern literature is, as already noticed, imitative and in the nature of translations of the northern epics. It is necessary to study folk-literature to get a picture of the southern family and the personality development in such a family. Woman is certainly not the weak link in the chain of family solidarity that she is in the north. She may neither need the tender sympathy accorded to a weak person which we find in the northern poem, nor the hatred accorded to the temptress, the evil genius which ruins the family and obstructs the attainment of the freedom of the soul. The southern man may be more natural in his attitude to women. He is the cross-cousin and the playmate of his future wife, not her lord and master. Marriage or sexual life is a culmination of friendships started in childhood.⁴⁵ There is also a compulsion in this type of marriage inasmuch as there is a complete absence of unrestricted choice of a mate. I have already described one case in which a man had to marry two daughters, one of each of his two elder sisters, so as not to offend either of them. I have also come across some cases in which a handsome man had to marry an ugly woman because she was his cross-cousin, and the parents of a very beautiful girl had to forego a substantial bride-price which they could have got by marrying her to a stranger, because she had to be given in marriage to a comparatively poor uncle (mother's brother). Marriage in the

south is a continuous exchange of daughters between a few families, with the result that for the married couple all the relatives are blood-relations, and marriage merely strengthens already existing bonds, without involving entirely new adjustments to new personalities and new situations.

Thus

(i) In the southern family there is no clear-cut distinction between the family of birth and the family of marriage, which is the salient feature of the terminology of the northern zone. For example in the north, no member from the ego's family of birth (parents, brothers, sisters and children) can become also a member of his family of marriage (i.e., parents-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, son-in-law and daughter-in-law). In the southern zone, however, because of the custom, according to which a man can marry his elder sister's daughter, the elder sister who is a member of his family of birth also becomes a member of his family of marriage (i.e., mother-in-law).

(ii) In the northern zone every kinship term clearly indicates whether the person referred to is a blood relation or an affinal relation. This distinction cannot be inferred from a large number of terms used in the south. For example in the north, *phuphī* is father's sister, *phuphā* is her husband and so the first is a blood-relation and the second an affinal relation. In the same way *māmā* is the mother's brother, a blood-relation, and *māmī* is his wife, an affinal relation. As against this, in the south, the word *attai* is used for father's sister, a blood relation, as also for mother's brother's wife, an affinal relation. Similarly *māmā* is used for mother's brother, a blood-relation, as also for father's sister's husband, an affinal relation.

(iii) In the northern zone ego's parents, the brothers and sisters of parents, the spouses and children of these, ego's brothers and sisters and the children of these and of ego constitute a very large group of relatives, none of whom can be marriage mates to the ego or to ego's children. This whole group may be termed "the extended family of birth". In addition to these, he will also have a very large number of relatives who will be the blood relations of his own spouse or of the spouses of his brothers and sisters or of the spouses of his children. This may be termed the extended family of marriage.

In the southern zone, if we constitute a group of relations, so as to include all those persons who have been enumerated as constituting the extended family of birth of the northern zone, we

shall find that in it there are certain persons who can be possible marriage mates for the ego or for ego's children. Similarly, if we constitute a group of relatives corresponding to the extended family of marriage as found in the northern zone, it will be found that in the southern zone all members of this group are also the members of the first group. Thus not only is there no distinction between the extended family of birth and the extended family of marriage in the south, but that those two become identical.

(iv) We have already seen that in the south there is no special term for an affinal relative, which is not used for a blood-relative also, and so the basis of classification of kin must be different as compared with that in the north. As all kin are blood-relatives, we have to distinguish between those who are blood-relatives *only* and those who are blood-relatives *and* affinal relatives at the same time. We then get the following two classes:

SOUTHERN ZONE

A. FOR A MALE EGO

I <i>Blood-relatives only</i>	II <i>Blood-relatives who are affinal relatives also</i>
(a) Ego's parents, father's brother, mother's sister	(a) Ego's elder sister, father's sister, mother's brother (ego's possible parents-in-law).
(b) Ego's elder and younger brother,	(b) The daughters of the above (ego's possible mates).
(c) Ego's children.	(c) Ego's sisters (whose children are possible mates for ego's children).
	(d) Ego's sisters' children (who are possible mates for ego's children).

Note :—Ego's elder sister appears under II (a) and (c) because she is his own possible mother-in-law as also a possible mother-in-law of his children.

(v) It will be seen by reference to the relatives enumerated in Column II of the schemes given above, that one and the same relative appears in two successive generations. Thus for a male ego (Scheme A), the elder sister, who is a possible mother-in-law, is placed along with father's sister and mother's brother, who are similarly possible parents-in-law. She is however also a possible mother-in-law of ego's children and therefore appears in the same generation as ego. Similarly, for a female ego (Scheme B), the mother's younger brother is a possible father-in-law for ego's child-

B. FOR A FEMALE EGO

I

Blood-relatives only

- (a) Ego's parents, father's brother, mother's sister.
- (b) Ego's elder and younger sister.
- (c) Ego's children.

II

Blood-relatives who are affinal relatives also

- (a) Ego's mother's brother, father's sister (ego's possible parents-in-law).
- (b) Sons of the above, mother's younger brother (ego's possible mates).
- (c) Ego's brothers (whose children are possible mates for ego's children).
- (d) Ego's brother's children and ego's younger brother (who are possible mates for ego's children).

Note :—Ego's younger brother appears under II (c) and (d) because he is a possible mate for ego's daughter, i.e., he is a possible son-in-law; his children are also possible mates for ego's children (i.e., he is a possible father-in-law for ego's children).

ren and therefore appears in the same generation as ego. He is also a possible mate for ego's daughter and thus appears in a generation lower than ego.

Thus not only as regards relations by marriage and relations by birth do the northern and southern systems differ, they differ also as regards the arrangement of kin in different generations. There does not seem to be any clear-cut classification of kin on the principle of generation at all in the southern terminology.

What then is the principle of organization of kin among Dravidian people and what is the structure of the Dravidian kinship terminology? It is a very simple principle in which *all the relatives are arranged according to whether they are older or younger than ego without any reference to generation*. This will become clear from the following peculiarities of the Dravidian terminology.

(a) There are no words for brothers or sisters in the Dravidian languages. There are words for elder brother, younger brother, elder sister and younger sister. One would say in Kannada for example "such and such a person has four *aṇṇā-tamanderu* and two *akkātangeru*" (four "older and younger brothers"—*aṇṇā-tammaṇṇā*—and two "older and younger sisters"—*akkā-tange*). The ego's brothers and sisters are grouped into (i) older than ego and (ii) younger than ego.

(b) We have already seen that a number of terms are used in common for (i) the father and elder brother (*aṇṇā*, *ayyā*), (ii)

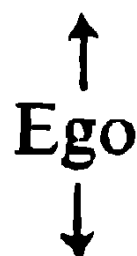
mother and elder sister (*āī*), (iii) younger brother and son (*pirkāḷ*), (iv) younger sister and daughter (*pinnaval*).⁴⁰

(c) The meaning of many of these terms does not seem to be 'father', 'mother', 'sister', etc., but 'an older respected male', 'an older respected female', 'a male who comes after (*pin*) me' and 'a female who comes after me', etc.

(d) In consonance with the indeterminate connotation of the terms and their arrangement relative to ego into (i) those older than ego and (ii) those younger than ego, we have the further peculiarity of the terminology that the kinship terms are prefixed by words meaning mine (*tam*), e.g., *tammaṇṇā*, *tammakkā*, *tampi* and *tankai*. This prefix *tam* is absolutely necessary as it groups the kin with reference to the ego — the speaker.

Therefore the principle of organization of kin in the south is that the centre (point of reference) of the whole kin-group is the ego and all the relatives are arranged into two primary groups (i) older than the ego and (ii) younger than the ego.

- (1) Elder brothers and sisters; parents; brothers and sisters of parents; older cross-cousins; older parallel cousins.



- (2) Younger brothers and sisters; younger cross and parallel cousins; own children; children of brothers and sisters.

We can call all those in the category 'older than ego' as *tam-mun* relatives. *tam* = self, me; *mun* = before, i.e., all those (born) before me. In the same way the category 'younger than ego' can be named *tam-pin* relatives. *tam* = self, me; *pin* = after, i.e., the people (born) after me.

All these are blood-relations and some of them can become also affinal relations of the ego. We have seen that the rule governing all marriages in the south is clan-exogamy. Another rule which emerges after the analysis of kin-organization given thus far is that a man (ego) can marry a woman from the "*tam-pin*" group provided she is a child of the "*tam-mun*" (older than ego) group. In other words he can marry (i) his younger cross-cousins who belong to the *tam-pin* group (younger than ego) and who are children of the cross-uncle (*māmā*) and the cross-aunt (*attai*), who belong to the *tam-mun* group. In the same way,

he can marry his *elder* sister's daughter, who would belong to the *tam-pin* group and is the child of the elder sister who belongs to the *tam-mun* group. This marriage arrangement also explains why a man cannot marry his *younger* sister's daughter, for the younger sister herself belongs to the *tam-pin* group, whose children are barred for marriage.

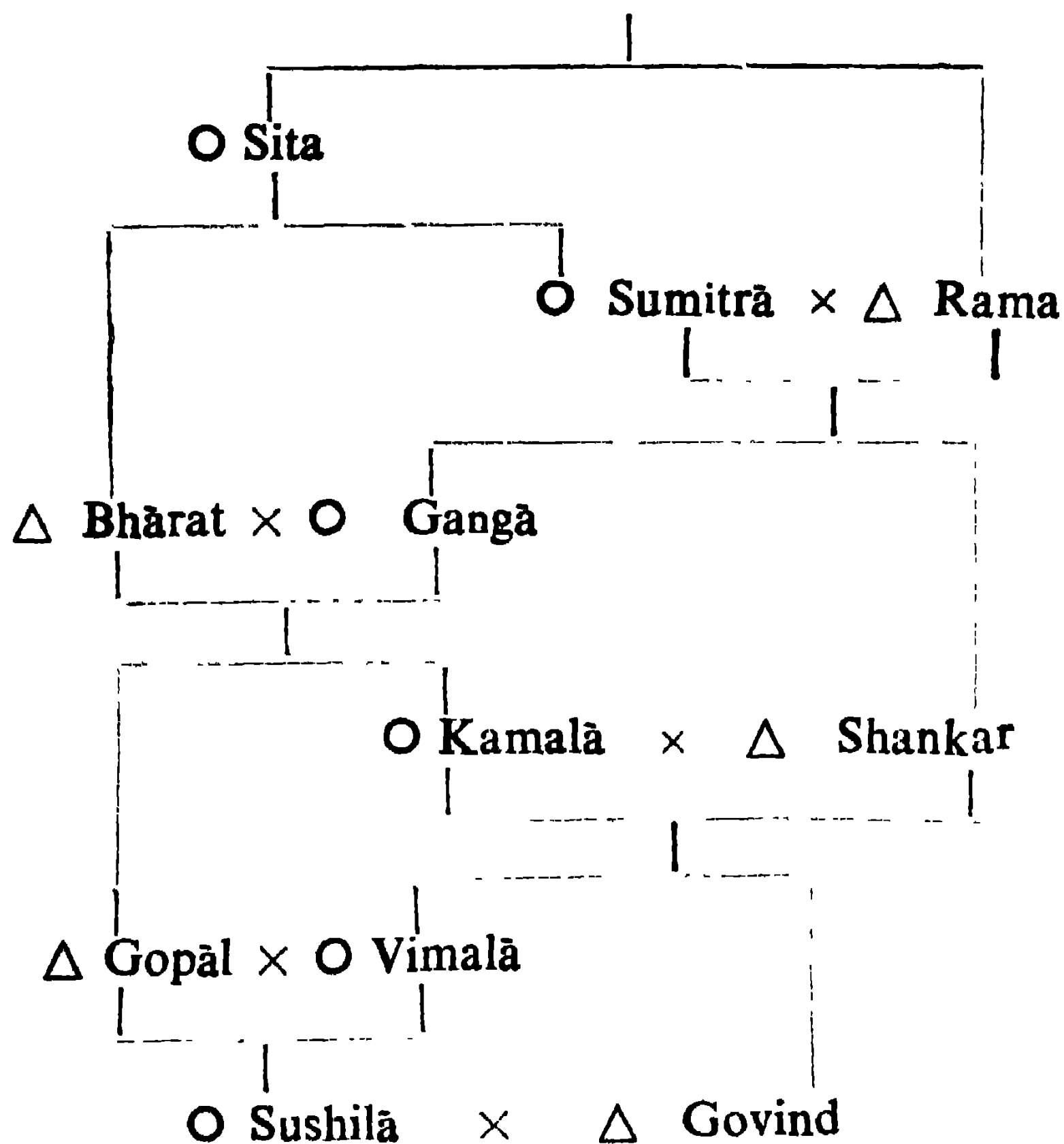
If the ego is a woman, the rule for marriage would be that *she marries a man from the "tam-mun" group who at the same time must belong to the "tam-pin" group of her parents*. Thus she can marry a son of her father's sister or a son of the mother's brother provided that son is older than herself. Such a person being older than herself, belongs to her *tam-mun* group and being a child of a brother or sister of one of the parents, belongs to the *tam-pin* group of the parents. She can also marry her mother's *younger* brother who is a member of the mother's *tam-pin* group. She cannot marry her mother's *elder* brother, because though he belongs to her own *tam-mun* group, he is also a member of the *tam-mun* group of her mother, which is prohibited to her.

Besides the relations already enlisted in the *tam-mun* group, there are others who are reckoned as belonging to that group, even though in age they may be younger than ego. They are placed in the *tam-mun* group because they are spouses of relatives who are members of that group. One such relative is the elder brother's wife, called *aṇṇi*, *āyanti* or *manni*. From the point of view of a woman, the husband's younger brother belongs to the *tam-pin* group in which she cannot marry. From the point of view of a man, his elder brother's widow is a member of the *tam-mun* group into which he also must not marry. This explains the taboo against levirate found generally in the southern zone.

In a previous paper⁴⁷ I had noted this fact, remarking that junior levirate seemed to be tabooed among people practising cross-cousin marriage, though I could not suggest at that time any satisfactory explanation for the same. It now becomes clear that the taboo is not connected with the custom of cross-cousin marriage but with the organization of the kin into two groups (i) older than ego and (ii) younger than ego.

In another paper⁴⁸ written in 1950 I had remarked that grandfather—grand-daughter marriage was not only possible, but actually practised in south India. This statement was made at a time when I was still applying northern concepts of kinship organization to the southern system. In the discussion above, while comparing the northern and the southern systems I have

drawn attention to the fact that marriage was possible between persons, who, according to northern concepts, would belong to two different generations (i.e., marriage between a man and his elder sister's daughter). The following genealogy shows that by applying the same method it can be shown that marriage of grand-daughter and grandfather, great-grand-daughter and great-grand-father, etc., is possible in the south.

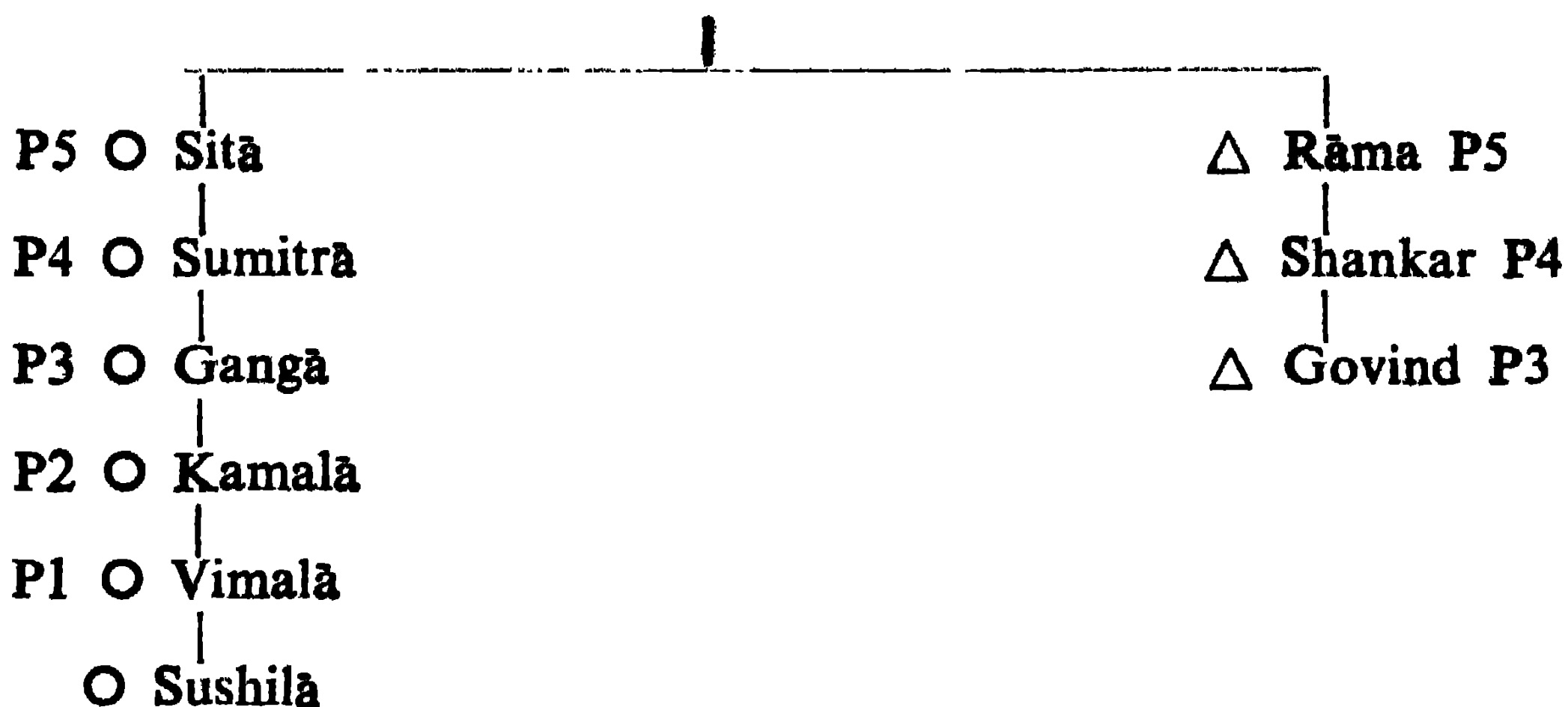


Kamalā is the daughter of Gangā who is the daughter of Sumitrā who is the daughter of Sitā, i.e., Kamalā is the great-grand-

- | | |
|-----------|------------------------------------------------|
| ○ Sitā | daughter of Sitā. Sitā's brother is Rāma, so |
| ○ Sumitrā | that Kamalā, according to terminological |
| ○ Gangā | usage, is also the great-grand-daughter of |
| ○ Kamalā | Rāma. Kamalā marries Shankar, who is the |
| ○ Vimalā | son of Rāma, i.e., the son of her great-grand- |
| | father, i.e., her grandfather. It is thus a |
| | grandfather—grand-daughter marriage. If |

one carries the same genealogy further, we will find that the marriage of Sushilā and Govind may be considered as a marriage of a great-grandfather and great-grand-daughter.

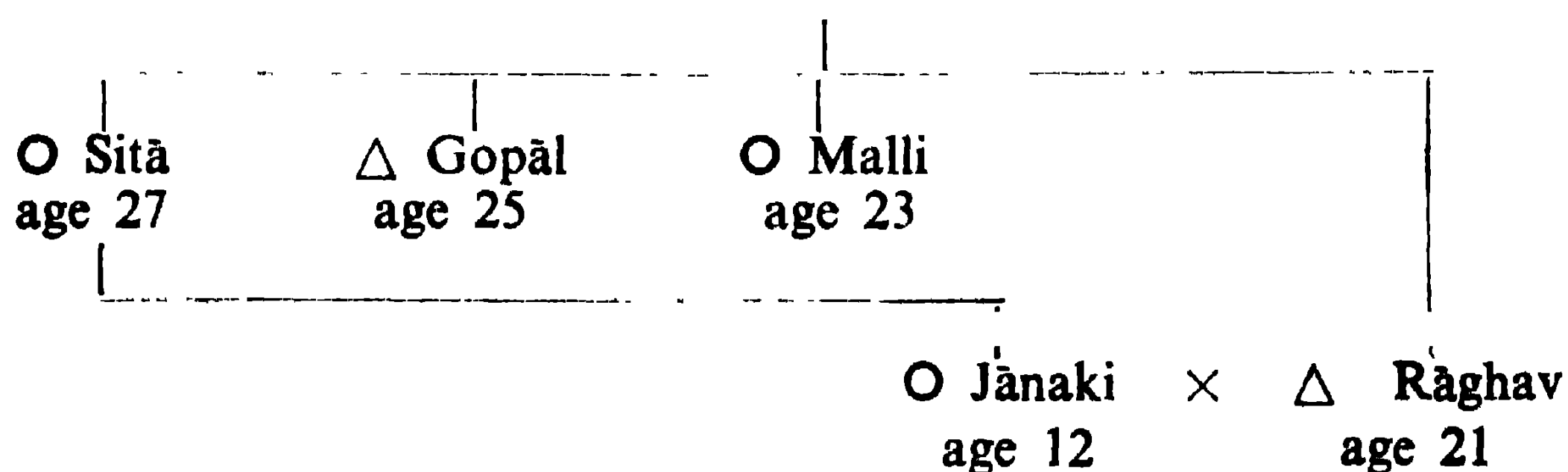
Sitā is five generations removed from Sushilā. She is therefore Sushilā's great-great-great-grandmother. Rāma is also Sushilā's



great-great-great-grandfather being the brother of Sitā. Rāma's son Shankar is her great-great-grandfather and Govind, the son of Shankar, and who is her husband, is her great-grandfather.

In the same way one can show that marriage of a man to his great-great-grand-daughter is also possible. But I now realize how wrong this nomenclature is, when the principle of organization of the southern kin is properly understood. Words like grandfather, great-grandfather, grand-daughter and great-grand-daughter have an entirely different context of meaning in the north, where all kin is grouped generation-wise, from the meaning of the same words in the context of the southern system. The words grandfather and grand-daughter create in the mind of a person used to the northern principle of arranging kinship according to generation, a picture of an old man and a very young girl with a very considerable difference in age. In the north a grandfather and a grand-daughter would show an age difference of at least thirty-seven years even in Hindu society where the age of marriage is very young. The average age difference between a man and his wife in the north is seven to eight years. The average age of a woman when she bears her first child is 16 or 17, though a number of women have their first child at the age of 15. The average age of a man at the birth of his first child would be 22. A man must be at least thirty-seven years old (22 plus 15) in order to be a grandfather through his daughter. A man would be at least 44 years old when the first child of his son is born. The age difference between a great-grandfather and a great-grand-daughter would be correspondingly greater, generally about sixty years. So that when one talks or writes about grandfather and grand-daughter marriage one generally thinks of an aged man of fifty years or more marrying a young girl of ten.

The situation in the southern marriage is not anywhere near the situation depicted above. For the sake of convenience in all the illustrations given above, a man was shown to marry the daughter of a sister immediately above him in age. Actually, a family is rarely restricted to two children. It is a larger group of brothers and sisters from which one of the younger brothers may marry the daughter of eldest sister.



In the genealogy given above the age at marriage of the girl Jānaki is given as 12. Then her mother's (Sitā) age would be 27 (12 plus 15). The ages of the younger brothers and sisters are computed by assuming an age difference of 2 years between each successive child. Thus the age of Gopāl would be 25, that of Malli 23 and that of Rāghav 21. If Jānaki marries Gopāl the difference in ages of the spouses would be 13 years. If she marries Rāghav, it would be 9 years. Such age differences are not infrequent in the northern zone either. A little consideration will make it clear, that if an uncle-niece marriage takes place in each generation, as shown in the genealogy on page 248 the age differences between mates of each generation will be about the same, whether one calls the mates uncle and niece, grandfather and grand-daughter or great-grandfather and great-grand-daughter.

The Dravidian kinship organization is thus fundamentally different from that of the northern zone. The kin in the immediate family is arranged not according to generations but according to age categories of 'older than ego' and 'younger than ego'. Marriage is outside the exogamous kin-group called *balli* or *bedagu* or *kilai*, which has similarities to totemistic clans. Exchange of daughters is favoured and marriage among close kin is the preferred one. The rules for marriage as deduced from kinship behaviour are :

- (1) One must not marry a member of one's own clan.
- (2) A girl must marry a person who belongs to the group "older than self — *tam-mun*" and also to the group "younger

than the parents". Therefore she can marry any of her older cross-cousins, as also the younger brother of her mother.

(3) A boy must marry a girl belonging to a group "younger than self — *tam-pin*" and who is a child of the group "older than self — *tam-mun*".

He can therefore marry any of his younger female cross-cousins and also a daughter of any of his elder sisters.

This results in reciprocal relations and reciprocal kinship terms. The categories of kin are not blood-relations and in-law relations as in the north, but blood-relations whom one may not marry and blood-relations whom one may marry. A man does not bring a stranger as a bride to his home, a woman is not thrown among complete strangers on her marriage. Marriage strengthens existing bonds. The emphasis is on knitting families closer together and narrowing the circle of the kin-group, a policy exactly the opposite of the one followed in the north. The whole tone of the southern society is different. The distinction between the father's house and the father-in-law's house is not as sharp as in the north. The distinction between 'daughters' and 'brides or wives' is not as deep as in the north. A girl's behaviour in her husband's family is much freer. After all, her husband is either her uncle or her cross-cousin and his mother is either her own grand-mother or her aunt. Neither is she separated for long periods from her parents' house.

The custom of marrying close kin results in girls being given in marriage to families living not too far from their houses and there is much visiting between the two houses, and the girl goes often and on long visits to her parents and almost always for her confinements. It would be interesting to gather folk-tales and folk-songs of the south and compare them with those of the north.

This very emphasis on marriage of close kins and strengthening of the already existing bonds, seems to me to favour the view that a reciprocal terminology evolves not through the division of a tribe into two exogamous moieties but through the exchange of daughters by two or more families. The tribe may be a growth through expansion of such families, each keeping its symbols and thus developing into an endogamous territorial division analogous to a tribe or a caste.⁴⁹

The north represents the principle of extended exchange, a policy of expansion, incorporation of outsiders as wives into the family, leading to great stresses and strains, a double standard of women's

behaviour pattern, a wide circle of kin, a society having a pastoral economy or an agricultural economy supported by pastoral pursuits.

The south represents the principle of immediate exchange, a policy of consolidation, a clustering of kingroup in a narrow area, no sharp distinction between kin by blood and kin by marriage, greater freedom for women in a society which was mainly agricultural, with very few or almost no pastoral traditions.

REFERENCES

¹ Tulu and Kodagu, though distinct languages, are gradually becoming assimilated into Kannada. However they preserve in their forms of speech some terms and usages of bygone days which have vanished from modern Kannada.

² The Asari (goldsmith) community of Travancore in the Malayalam-speaking region are polyandrous and patrilineal. There are authentic records of polyandry among the matrilineal Nayar, and the present day Toda of Nilgiri practise both polyandry and polygyny and have marriage and family organization which show features of both matrilineal and patrilineal organization.

³ For exceptions to this general principle, cf. the description of the Kerala family in the section devoted to Kerala.

⁴ The *baḷi* or *beḷagu* sometimes show totemistic practices connected with the *baḷi*-symbol but these practices are not found among all castes and where they do occur they vary in details from caste to caste and region to region.

⁵ The Maratha clan organization is sometimes on the northern pattern and sometimes on the southern pattern. I found in the Satara district in the village of Godavali that all the Maratha houses belonged to the Mālusarē clan only. There was no possibility of finding a spouse for a boy in the village. On the other hand there are innumerable villages where two clans of equal standing share the territory. Sometimes they intermarry and sometimes there are bitter feuds.

⁶ On this view the family, 'primary' or 'extended', becomes the fundamental social unit and 'clan' a secondary and a derivative formation.

⁷ *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Poona, Vol. 2 page 17 (1940-41).

⁸ See Chapter IV.

⁹ *Eastern Anthropologist*, Vol. IV, No. 1, Sept.-Nov. 1950-51, page 17.

¹⁰ Among the Gonds of Mahakosal area and in the Marathi-speaking area, cases of junior levirate and love songs purporting to be between a woman and her husband's younger brother are recorded. In the Andhra area of Adilabad the Gonds deny the existence of such practices. (Personal communication by Prof. C. VON FURER HAIMENDORF about Adilabad).

¹¹ On page 260 in the article on Raddis, ENTHOVEN remarks that among these people children of two sisters can marry if their *beḷagus* are different, though generally such a marriage is not allowed. This shows that the taboo

is not very strict. *Castes and Tribes of Bombay*, Vol. III, R. E. ENTHOVEN, Bombay 1922, Government Press.

¹² Paṭṭamahādevī means the great (mahā) queen (devī) who has the chaplet of office (paṭṭā). The coronation ceremony is called *Abhisheka*, which is generally a ceremony for the king and queen, whence the chief queen is called Paṭṭābhishikta. I found among the *Koyas* (a jungle tribe) of Malkangiri that the wife of the headman had the right to wear a brass strip (the paṭṭā) round her head, a replica of the gold paṭṭā of greater queens.

¹³ I hope to write extensively on those at some later date but a full discussion of the terms and their meaning is not necessary for the present purpose.

¹⁴ *Itai maru tu traiyum entai* Tiruvācagam, 4.149 G. U. POPE, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1900.

¹⁵ Tiruvācagam, 9.51.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* The whole of the hymn IV may be read for the various forms discussed here.

¹⁷ The songs sung on the sea-coast, VII, 17.

¹⁸ Hymn 9.

¹⁹ Tiruvācagam, 4.161. *Ataintavarakkurunum Appā pōrri.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.149, 33.36, *em Aṇṇā pōrri.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, 4.123. 'Attā' pōri.

²² *Ibid.*, 5.115 and 41.36. Accan Āṇ Peṇ.

²³ Tiruvācagam, refrain of hymn 25. Ācaipaṭṭēṇ kaṇṭay ammāne; it also occurs in Kambarāmāyaṇam and refers to Rāma as the father of Brahmadeva. Tenmalaron ammanumi mārīchan 220 (the father of him who holds the honeyed lotus).

²⁴ Kambarāmāyaṇam Sundarakāṇḍam, p. 439 Edited by GOPALA KRISHNA-MACHARYAR, Madras, 1939.

²⁵ Tiruvācagam. See notes on the word *Aṇṇan*, p. 3 of A Lexicon and Concordance at the end of the book.

²⁶ 'Entai Tāy', Tiruvācagam, 5.185, my father and mother.

²⁷ 'Entai Āy', Tiruvācagam, 5.185.

²⁸ "Aṇṇeyum Pitāvum munnairi Tayvam" mother and father are our great gods.

²⁹ Tamil Lexicon, University of Madras, 1936.

³⁰ Ranna's Gadāyuddha. Canto I, verse 10. This work was composed in the 10th century A.D.

³¹ Kinship terms and kinship usages of Karnatak, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. X, part 1, p. 1.

³² Prof. C. R. SANKARAN remarks that the root *meccudal* when used in speech denotes a certain amount of condescension as when a slightly superior person shows approbation for a person or an act. Towards younger relatives-in-law one may have such an attitude.

³³ Jñāneśvarī, Chapter 17, verse 64.

³⁴ *Maria Goṇḍa of Bastār*—1949 reissue, p. 309 (Oxford Univ. Press).

³⁵ *Pattu-pāṭṭu*, pp. 584 and 636 in *Malai-paṭu-kaṭām* edited by U. V. SWAMINATHA AIYAR, 3rd edition, Madras, 1931.

³⁶ *Mani-mēkalai*, p. 244. Edited by U. V. SWAMINATHA AIYAR, 3rd edition.

³⁷ Nālāyira-divyaprabandham by Ālvārs by Tontaraṭippotiṭyālvār in the song Tirumalai, p. 200, edited by C. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, Madras, 1930.

³⁸ *Tiruvācagam*, p. 33, of the vocabulary. Edited by G. U. POPE, Oxford, 1900.

³⁹ 'Cīrakku māmiyar' (the excellent mothers-in-law). Verse 36, Sundara-kāṇḍa, Kambarāmāyaṇa,

⁴⁰ Kambarāmāyaṇa, Sundarakāṇḍa.

⁴¹ A man speaking of his son's wife's father or daughter's husband's father will not use the word *aṇṇā*. He will say *samanti* or *attan*. A woman will call these relatives, *aṇṇā* (brother).

⁴² Prof. C. R. SANKARAN gives the following explanation of the term. Maṇam + *peṇ* = *maṇppen* or *maṇattupen*, sometimes also *kalyānattu-p-peṇ*, i.e., a woman brought to the house by marriage. The same as Sanskrit *vadhū*. Similar word formation is seen in the following from *Tiruvācagam*, p. 41, lines 192 and 216—*Pūvanattu asane civapurattu arace*.

⁴³ A woman's son and daughter marry her brother's children. The brother's wife is *aṇṇi* or *nāttanār*.

⁴⁴ Some Brahmin castes, and some other castes calling themselves Kshatriya in the south form, to some extent, an exception to this.

⁴⁵ For this very reason perhaps the southern poetry sings of the loyalty and steadfast attachment of the wife, but chooses a concubine for depicting passionate love. In this respect north and south come near each other but for different reasons. Passionate love, love at first sight, etc., to be followed by marriage are quite frequent themes for northern story and song in Sanskrit and modern literature, because husband and wife are strangers. Yet for marital life the norm of behaviour is, for the husband, courtesy, generosity, tenderness towards the wife and not necessarily monogamous behaviour. In the south the husband and wife are pre-determined mates, who also must keep house together, but a man need not be monogamous, and glamorous love cannot be depicted for cross-cousin love but is reserved for concubines.

⁴⁶ See general discussion above.

⁴⁷ *Bulletin, Deccan College Research Institute*, IV, 3, p. 17.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, X. 1, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁹ Data on Indian village organization also seems to favour this view, cf. BADEN-POWELL.

APPENDIX 1

	TAMIL	ANDHRA	KANNADA	MALYALAM
1. Fa	.. Tandai, Appā, Ayyā, (Aṇṇā), Takappan, Amman, Appacci, Appu, Attan	Tandri, Nannā, Nainnā, Ayyā (Babu)	Appā, Ayyā, Tande	Accan, Appaṇ
2. Fa-Fa	.. Tattā, Pāttā	Tāttā, Tattaiyā	Ajjā, Heṭṭappā, Mut-tātā	Muttaccan, Vali-appan
3. Fa-Fa-Fa	.. Kollu-pāṭṭan Kollu-tātta	Muttātā, Tattaiyā	Muttajjā, Muttappā, Muttayyā	Mutu-muttaccan Nālan
4. Mo-Fa	.. Tattā, Pattā	Tattā, Tattaiyā	Ajjā, Heṭṭappā,	Ammatu, Muttaccan
5. Mo-Fa-Fa	.. Kollu-paṭṭan Kollu-tātta	Muttātā, Tattaiya	Muttajjā	Ammatu, Mutu- muttaccan
6. Fa-Br				
(a) elder	.. Periappā	Peddannanna, Pettanḍri	Doḍappā, Doḍḍappā	Veliappan, Perappan
(b) younger	.. Cittāppā	Cinnannā Pintanḍri	Cikkappā	Cittappan
7. Mo-Br	.. Ammān, Māmā	Māmā, Māmayyā (Menamama)	Māmā, Sodarmāva	Ammāman- Ammavaṇ
8. Mo	.. Ammā, Tāi, Tammannai, Aṇṇa, Āyāl, Āyi, Ammāḷ	Ammā, Talli	Abbe, Ammā, Avvā Tāi	Ammā, Ammai

		TAMIL	ANDHRA	KANNADA	MALYALAM
9.	Mo-Mo	.. Pāṭṭi	Ammāmā	Ajji, Hettammā	Ammatu, Muttace
10.	Mo-Fa-Mo-	Koḷlu-pāṭṭi	Tāttammā, Avvā	Muttajji, Muttavvā, Muttāi	Ammatu, Muthu-muttace
11.	Fa-Mo	.. Pāṭṭi, Appātha, Appāyi	Nānnammā, Ayyammā	Ajji	Muthace
12.	Fa-Fa-Mo	.. Koḷlu-pāṭṭi	Tattammā Mattara	Muttajji	Muttu-muttacci
13.	Fa-Si	.. Attai	Attā	Sodar-atte, Atte	Accan pengal,
(a)	elder	.. Periattai	Pedda (Menatta)		Accol, Accammā
(b)	younger	.. Cinnattai, Kunjattai	Cinna		
14.	Mo-Si	..	Pinni, Pinnammā	Doddattāi,	
(a)	elder	.. Periammā	Peddammā	Doddammā, Doddavvā	Perammā, Peracci
(b)	younger	.. Cittī, Kunji	Pinni, Pinnammā, Cinnammā	Cikkamma, Cikkavva, Cigavvā	Cittamma, Cittacci
15.	Br	..			Angal (woman speaking)
(a)	elder	.. Aṇṇā, Tammanṇā, Aṇṇācci, Ayyan	Aṇṇā	Aṇṇā	Cettan, Ettan, Attan, Oppā
(b)	younger	.. Tampi, Empi	Tammaḍu	Tammā	Anujan, Ambi
16.	Fa-Br-So	..			
(a)	older than ego	.. Aṇṇā } dayadi	Aṇṇā	Aṇṇā	
(b)	younger than ego	.. Tambi }	Tammaḍu	Tammā	

17.	Fa-Si-So	..	Attai-pillai	Bāva maradi, Ba mardi	
	(a) older than ego	..	Attān	Atta pilla	Bhāvā
	(b) younger than ego	..	Maittunaṇ Maccinaṇ		Maiduna, Meidana, Meidā
18.	Mo-Br-So	..	Ammānci, Mamapiḷḷai	Bāvamaradi, Bāmardi Māmapilla	
	(a) older than ego	..	Attān		Bāvā
	(b) younger than ego	..	Maittunaṇ, Maccinaṇ		Meiduna, Meida, Meidana
19.	Mo-Si-So	..			
	(a) older than ego	..	Anṇā	Anṇā	
	(b) younger than ego	..	Thampi	Tammaḍu	Tammā
20.	Si	..			
	(a) elder	..	Akkā, Tamakkā, Akkāl, Atti, Appāttāi, Tattai, Appi	Akkā	Akkā
	(b) younger	..	Tangai, Tangacci, Tangāl, Angicci	Cellelu, Celli	Taṇḡi
					Anujati, Aniyatti

	TAMIL	ANDHRA	KANNADA	MALYALAM
21. Fa-Br-Da (a) older than ego (b) younger than ego	Akkā Tankai Cellelu, Celli	Akkā Taṅgi	
22. Fa-Si-Da (a) older than ego (b) younger than ego	Attankāl Attankār, Matani, Aṇṇi Koḷuntia, Maitini, Koḷunti	Vodine : Maradalu Attigée, Attigi Nādini	
23. Mo-Br-Da (a) older than ego (b) younger than ego	Ammankāl, Ammankār Matani, Aṇṇi Koḷuntia, Koḷunti, Matini, Maccini	 Vodine Maradalu Attigée, Attigi Nādini	
24. Mo-Si-Da (a) older than ego (b) Younger than ego	Akkā Tangai	Akkā Cellelu, Celli Taṅgi	

25.	So	..	Makan, Piḷḷai Paiyan	Koduku, Kanna	Magā	Makan
26.	Br-So (Man-speaking)	..	Makan, Piḷḷai	Koduku	Magā	
27.	Br-So (Woman- speaking)	..	Marumakan, Marumān	Mēnalluḍu, Alluḍu	Aḷiyā, Sodar-aḷiyā	Maru-makan
28.	Si-So (Man-speaking)	..	Marumakan, Marumān, Māpiḷḷai (?)	Mēnalluḍu, Alluḍu	Aḷiyā, Sodar-aḷiyā	Maru-makan
29.	Si-So (Woman- speaking)	..	Makan	Koḍuku	Magā	
30.	So-So	..	Pēran	Manumaḍu	Mammagā	Pera-makan
31.	So-So-S-	..	Koḷḷu-pēran	Munimanumadu	Marimagā	
32.	Da-So	..	Pēran	Manumadu	Mammagā	
33.	Da-So-So	..	Koḷḷu-pēran	Munimanumadu	Marimagā	Makal
34.	Da	..	Peṇ, Poṇṇu Makal, Poṇṇ, Piṇṇaval, Piṇṇi.	Kuthuru, Biddā, Kūtu	Magalu	
35.	Br-Da (Man-speaking)	..	Makal, Pen, etc.	Kuthuru, Biddā	Magalu	

	TAMIL	ANDHRA	KANNADA	MALYALAM
36. Br-Da (Woman-speaking)	.. Maru-makal	Menakodalu	Sodara-rose, Sose	Maru-makal
37. Si-Da (Man-speaking)	.. Maru-makal		Sodara-rose, Sose	Maru-makal
38. Si-Da (Woman-speaking)	.. Makal, Pennu	Kūthuru, Biddā	Magaḷu	
39. Da-Da	.. Peyarti, Pētti.	Manumaralu	Mammagaḷu	
40. Da-Da-Da	.. Koḷḷu-Peyarti,	Munimanumaralu	Marimagaḷu	
41. So-Da	.. Peyarti, Pētti.	Manumaralu	Mammagaḷu	Pera-kutty
42. So-So-Da	.. Koḷḷu-Peyarti,	Munimanumaralu	Marimagaḷu	
43. Fa-Si-Hu	.. Attimper, Māmā, Māmanār	Māmā	Māvā	
44. Hu-Fa	Māma, Māman	Māmā	Māvā	
45. Wi-Fa	.. Māma, Māmanar	Māmā	Māvā	
46. Mo-Si-Hu	.. Cittappā	Babaiyyā Chinnannā	Doḍḍappā	
47. Mo-Br-Wi	.. Māmi, Ammāmi, Attai	Attā	Atte, Sodar-atte	Ammāyi, Ammāyiammā

48.	Fa-Br-Wi (a) elder (b) younger	Periammā, Citti	Doddammā, Pinni	Dodḍatāi, Dodḍammā, Dodḍavvā
49.	Hu-Mo	..	Māmiyār, Māmi, Attai	Attā	Atte
50.	Wi-Mo	..	Māmiyār, Māmi,	Attā	Atte
51.	Hu	..	Akamuddaiān, Āṭṭukārar, Maṇalan, Attān, Purusan, Kolunan, Koḷuntan	Purushadu, Moguḍu	Gaṇḍā, Maneyātā Yajamāndaru .
52.	Hu-Br (a) elder than husband (b) younger than husband	Attan, Maccinan Koḷuntan, Maccinapillai, Mañchan	Bāvā Maradi	Bāvā Maidā
53.	Wi-Br (a) elder than wife (b) younger than wife	Maccān, Maittunan Attan Maccinan	Bāvā Maradi	Bāvā Maiduna, Maidā, Meidana (rarely) Māmā
					Aliya (rarely)

		TAMIL	ANDHRA	KANNADA	MALYALAM
54.	Si-Hu	..			
	(a) elder sister's husband	Attimper, Attan	Bāvā	Bāvā	
	(b) younger sister's husband	..	Maradi	Maiduna	
55.	Hu-Si-Hu	..	Annā, Tampi, Nainnā	Chikkappā, Anṇā, Tammā	
56.	Wi-Si-Hu	..	Caṭṭakan, Anṇā, Tampi	Saḍḍaka	
57.	So-Wi-Fā	..	Attan, Annacci, Cammanti	Biḡaru	
58.	Da-Hu-Fa	..	Attan, Annacci, Cammanti	Biḡaru	
59.	Wi	..	Akamuttaiāl, Maṇaiṇi, Pattini, Peṇṭāṭṭi, Penjati	Heṇḍati, Maneyati Bharyai, Taram Bhāriyā	
60.	Hu-Si	..	Nāṭṭanār, Natti, Nāṭṭiya		
	(a) elder than husband	..	Anṇi	Attige, Attigi	
	(b) younger than husband	..	Maittuni	Nāḍini, Nāḍani	

61.	Wi-Si	..		Kolundiāl	
	(a) elder than wife	..	Matini, Akkā	Vodine	Attige, Attigi
	(b) younger than wife	..	Macci, Maccini	Maradalu	Nādini, Nādani
62.	Br-Wi	..	Marumakal		
	(a) elder brother's wife	..	Āyanti, Anṇi, Manni, Nāṭṭuppen	Vadine	Attige, Attigi
	(b) younger brother's wife	..	Maittini, Koḷuntia	Maradalu	Nādini, Nādani
63.	Hu-Br-Wi	..	Orpadi	Yaranālu, ? Eralu ? Todukodalu Akkā	Ōragatti, Ōragitti, Negenṇi, Nege-heṇṇu
	(a) husband's elder brother's wife	..	Akkā		
	(b) husband's younger brother's wife	..	Tankai	Chellelu	
64.	Wi-Br-Wi	..	Maccinikki Akkā, Tankai	Akkā, Chellelu	Akkā, Taṅgi
65.	So-Wi-Mo	...	Akkā, Tankai, Sampanti, Anṇi, Nāttanār	Vodine Akka, Chellelu	Biḡiti, Biḡati

		TAMIL	ANDHRA	KANNADA	MALYALAM
66.	Da-Hu-Mo	.. Akkā, Tankai, Sampanti, Aṇṇi, Nāttanār	Vodine Akka, Chellelu	Bīgiti, Bīgati	Sampanti
67.	Da-Hu	.. Marumakan Māpillai,	Alludu	Alīyā	Marumakan
68.	Hu-Br-So	.. Makan	Koduku	Magā	
69.	Hu-Si-So	.. Marumakan	Alludu	Alīyā, Sodaraḷiyā	
70.	Wi-Br-So	.. Marumakan	Alludu	Alīyā, Sodaraḷiyā	
71.	Wi-Si-So	.. Makan	Koduku	Magā	
72.	So-Wi	.. Marumakal, Māṭṭu-pen, Nāṭṭu-peṇ, Nāṭṭu-poṇ, Namkai	Kodalū	Sose	
73.	Hu-Br-Da	.. Makal	Kuthuru, Biddā	Magalu	
74.	Hu-Si-Da	.. Marumakal	Kodalū	Sose, Sodara-sose	
75.	Wi-Br-Da	.. Marumakal	Kodalū	Sose, Sodara-sose	
76.	Wi-Si-Da	.. Makal	Kuthuru, Biddā	Magalu	
77.	Father's wife other than ego's mother	.. Citti	Chavittitalli	Malatāi, Savatitāi	
78.	Mother's husband other than ego's father	..		Mala-tandé	
79.	Co-wife	.. Sakalatti			
80.	Co-husband	.. Mūttal, Elaiyāl	Savatalu	Savati	

CHAPTER VI

THE KINSHIP ORGANIZATION OF THE SOUTHERN ZONE

THE REGIONS

It is not possible to give one single description for all the regions of the southern zone as there are slightly different kinship organizations in different regions. Each region is treated separately in the following pages. Andhra and Karnatak are given very little space as the patrilineal pattern found there is described before. Tulu terms and kinship organization are given separately as they follow a matrilineal family organization. The Kui-speaking tribes also receive separate treatment as they cover a very large geographical area and show phenomena of culture-contact and cultural adjustments in their kinship organization and kinship terms. The Todas have been described by W. H. R. RIVERS in an excellent monograph and only a short note is given about their kinship organization, as I believe it typifies a very widely distributed form of adjustment arrived at by many a southern matrilineal people, who have come in contact with a patrilineal people. A more detailed description of a similar adjustment found in Kerala is also given.

(1) *Andhra*

In the last chapter an attempt was made to elucidate the general pattern on which kinship is organized in the south. The illustrative material was used from various regions of the Dravidian languages. In this chapter a few regional peculiarities are discussed, not with a view to give an exhaustive survey of the region but to give the general idea of the region and its anthropological problems relating to the present topic.

Andhra or Telingana, the region where Telugu is spoken, stretches as a broad strip from eastern Maharashtra in the west upto the Bay of Bengal to the east. Its main geographical feature is that it comprises the middle and the lower reaches of the two great southern rivers, viz., the Godavari and the Krishna. On the coast the linguistic boundary reaches northward roughly upto the river Ganjam. The coast is divided from the interior by the hills

of the eastern Ghats which rise upto 3,000 feet above the sea-level. On these hills and westward beyond them upto the border of eastern Maharashtra and southwards upto the river Godavari is a region of forest and hills where many primitive tribes live. They speak Mundari and Dravidian languages. The Indian Rajas who governed over this area had Telugu as their language and so in this tract one finds a number of Telugu-speaking people. The Uriya-speaking people have also penetrated into this region, especially since this region has formed either a part of the Eastern States Agency or of the State of Orissa. Linguistically this is a much disputed region.

Telingana is a land of industrious farmers. The most numerous caste is Reddi. The word Reddi like the word Maratha is applied to a very large number of endogamous castes. Besides Reddi the other word for agriculturists is Kapu. Like the Marathi word Kunbi it is going out of use and all agricultural people like to call themselves Reddi. As the word Kunbi in Maharashtra is used by agriculturists as also by semi-primitive cultivators the word Reddi is applied to semi-primitive cultivators living in the forests of the lower Godavari basin as also to the semi-feudal landlords of the plains who sometimes take the title of Raja. The Reddis are divided into clans which bear the names of animals, trees, fruits, artefacts, etc. There seems to be some hypergamy but it is not as pronounced or as universally acknowledged as the Rajput or Maratha clan hypergamy. Other castes except the Brahmins are also arranged into exogamous clans. Most of these castes practise both types of cross-cousin marriage as also the marriage of a man to his sister's daughter. Among some castes the information given was contradictory. Some people said that they did not allow the marriage of a man to his father's sister's daughter. A detailed study of Telingana may reveal regions affected by Maratha customs and it is possible that the castes in the contact region may not practise one type of cross-cousin marriage, claim a higher social status and be arranged into hypergamous exogamous clans. Again some of these castes may be of Maratha extraction.

The Brahmins follow the usual practice of *gotra* and *pravara* exogamy but do not follow the northern practice of avoiding marriages between those related by a common seventh ancestor on the father's side or a common fifth ancestor on the mother's side. On the other hand they practise cross-cousin marriage, as also the uncle-niece marriage. The *gotra* and *pravara* thus take on

completely the function of the clans or *balis* or *intiperus* of the non-Brahmins.

The Telugu kinship terms clearly reflect the customs of exchange of daughters and the reciprocal terms arising out of such a practice. As pointed out above there are however certain castes which do not allow one type of cross-cousin marriage but who still use the general terminology.

(2) *Karnatak*

Karnatak is the name of the region where people speak the Kannada (anglicized into Kanarese) language. After the reorganization of the States, this is called Mysore.

Its rough boundaries are: the middle reaches of the Krishna and Bhima rivers in the north where it meets the region of the Marathi-speaking people; an indeterminate boundary to the east where Telugu and Tamil are spoken; to the south are the forested and hilly regions of the upper reaches of the river Kaveri and to the west the Arabian sea and the Konkan region of Maharashtra. Banawasi (near modern Sirsi) on the coastal hills was a famous capital in medieval history but the coastal regions of Karnatak give the impression of being rather late acquisitions of Kannada-speaking people and not of being the core of Kannada culture. Indo-Aryan speaking people have penetrated deep into the south in the coastal region and Tulu speaking people have moved northwards. The present coastal folk seem to be either semi-primitives gathered into the Hindu community or originally people from further south like the Nadavara, who occupy the land as landlords.

The cultural core of Karnatak is the land between the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers from where the most powerful monarchs held sway over Maharashtra, Andhra and Karnatak and extended the boundaries of Karnatak northwards upto the river Godavari. The northward extension of people speaking Kannada was very considerable and this historical fact may explain the similarities of the languages of the semi-primitive people like the Gond and the Kolam with Kannada. Southwards Kannada spread by pushing back Tulu which seems to have been spoken once in what is today the land of the Kannada-speaking people.

Many castes speaking the Tulu language are matrilineal and matrilocal. The Malyalam-speaking people who live to the south of the Tulu area are also largely matrilineal and matrilocal. Neither of them countenance the marriage of a man to his sister's daughter.

In Karnatak on the other hand, with the exception of a very few castes, almost all groups practise the marriage of a man with his elder sister's daughter and all the castes I investigated were patrilineal and patrilocal.

In Karnatak some castes allow marriage of a man with his mother's brother's daughter only, quoting the proverb *baḷḷi tiraga beḍā* (the creeper must not return) in support of their aversion for not allowing a man to marry his father's sister's daughter. There are a large number of castes which prefer two types of marriages: a man's marriage to his elder sister's daughter or to his father's sister's daughter. Most of the agricultural and lower artisan castes follow these practices. There are a few castes like the R̥gvedi Deshastha Brahmins who generally prefer marriage of a man to his maternal uncle's daughter and also follow the practice of marrying the daughter of a sister older or younger than oneself. I found three people who had married the daughter of a younger sister and had not heard of the taboo against such a marriage. There was however one old Brahmin lady who on my enquiries confessed that in older days there was apparently some sentiment against a man's marriage to a *younger* sister's daughter but there never was a very strict prohibition against the practice. The Deshastha R̥gvedi Brahmins are found in Maharashtra and north Karnatak. Unlike other Marathi Brahmins, they allow cross-cousin marriage and on the southern border of Maharashtra allow uncle-niece marriage also. It seems that they have taken up a southern custom without the southern taboo.

The Karnatak Brahmins show very varied practices as regards marriage and these variations seem to depend on various historical and social factors like the time of immigration, the degree of assimilation and contact with the northerners.

Karnatak has received populations from the north. Some of its weaving communities like the Patwegars say that they have come from the north and speak a language which still shows many Gujarati words. The Patta-sāḷis — originally weavers of silk garments — also claim to have come from the north, though they speak pure Kannada. There are many Brahmin and agricultural and even untouchable communities who seem to have come into Karnatak from Telingana (Andhra) and Tamilnad. One such community is the Paḷegārs of north-east Mysore region. Their practices are varied. Some allow only one type (the central zone type) of cross-cousin marriage.

In Karnatak there is no taboo against the bride and groom

belonging to the same village. Among Brahmins the groom's father receives money, among others the bride's father receives money, but owing to the prevalence of cross-cousin marriage the sum of money involved is generally small.

In Karnatak as also in Maharashtra it is the custom for a woman to go to her father's house for her confinement. At least for the first confinement that is the rule. It is considered to be a great humiliation of a girl has no father's house to go to for her first confinement. A girl generally goes to her parents' house in the 7th month of her pregnancy and returns to her husband's home when the baby is three months old. Besides this, there are numerous other occasions on which a married woman visits her parents' home and stays there with her children. During the first few years of marriage such visits are numerous and prolonged and the groom's people have every time to give gifts and beg and sometimes threaten if the bride or the young wife does not return within a reasonable time. In olden days when large joint families were common such a procedure did not incommode the husband too greatly; but now-a-days when husband and wife live together in a small house with the husband serving as a Government servant or in a mill as a labourer, the wife's departure and long absences compel the husband to cook for himself. On my field-work throughout the south and in Maharashtra I found such people again and again in their lonely unkempt houses cadging for a meal at the houses of their friends and tired of cooking for themselves.

The highlands of Coorg are in many ways a continuation of the cultural region of Karnatak. The Kodagu (the aristocracy of Coorg) allow both types of cross-cousin marriage but do not allow the uncle-niece marriage. They used to practise levirate and have an intensely patriarchal social system reminiscent of the northern pattern.

The Kannada kinship terms are easy to understand and are important inasmuch as many terms seem to have a common origin with the Marathi terms. Most of the terms do not need any special explanation.

For father the terms are *tande*, *tāta*, and *appā*. Of these the term *appā* is used as the usual suffix for the names of all adult men like *Hirappā*, *Shivappā*, etc. The Marathi people call the Kannada people *Kānaḍi-appā* because of this peculiarity.

The terms for the mother are *tāyi*, *ammā* and *abbe*. The term *abbe* was given to me by only a few people but it is of interest.

Abbe seems to be a variation of the term *appe* which is the same as *appā*. The term *appe* is used for mother in the Tulu language.

The elder and younger brother are respectively *aṇṇā* and *tammā*, the elder and younger sister are *akkā* and *tange*.

Father's sister and mother's brother's wife are both *atte* and mother's brother and father's sister's husband are *māmā* or *māvā*. Their male children are called *bāvā* (older) and *maidā* (younger) and the female children *attige* (elder) and *nādini* (younger). *Attige* might be *atte-kai* (the daughter of *atte*). The word *nādini* I find difficult to understand. It is used for younger brother's wife as also for husband's sister. Whether it is an adaptation of the Sanskrit word *nanāndr* (husband's sister) I am unable to say.

The term for own son is *magā* or *maganā*. The terms for sister's son (man-speaking), brother's son (woman-speaking) and daughter's husband are *marumagā* or *aḷiyā*.

For own daughter the term is *magalu*. For sister's daughter (man-speaking), brother's daughter (woman-speaking) and daughter-in-law the terms are *maru-magalu* or *sose*. The term *sose*, not found in any other Dravidian language seems to be an adaptation of the Sanskrit term *snusā* (daughter-in-law). The term for husband is *gaṇḍā* which means 'a man' and for wife is *heṇḍati* which means 'woman'. Like other Dravidian terms Kannada words for husband and wife are simply words for 'man' and 'woman' and are not status terms like Sanskrit *pati* (the ruler) and *patnī* (the ruler's wife) or *bhartā* (the feeder) and *jāyā* (one who bears children).

In one family the term for husband's sister was given as *chigavvā* which means little-mother and is usually applied to mother's younger sister. When I suggested that the term might be wrongly given the old woman chided me saying that she knew her language better than a stranger could. The old woman was right. The term is quite legitimate when one remembers the custom of a woman marrying the younger brother of her mother (which is the same as a man marrying his elder sister's daughter). In such a relationship the husband's sister is also the mother's sister and when the bride is the elder sister's daughter, the chances are that the husband's other sisters are younger than the bride's own mother and are really her junior maternal aunts or *chigavvā*.

Bavā or *bhāvā* is husband's elder brother. The term seems to be of the same origin as Marathi *bhāvā* or *bhāvojī*. *Maiduna* or *maidu* (husband's brother) also seems to have the same origin as Marathi *mehunā*.

The term for husband's sister or wife's sister should have been the feminine of *maiduna* but I did not find it. It is however found in the Tulu word *maitadi*.

The Kannaḍa term for marriage is *maduve* which is said to have the same root as Tamil *maṇ* = to join, to marry.

For the marriage of a widow the word is *uḍike* or *kooḍike* which seems to mean to cover, to give cloth. In Marathi the word for such a marriage is *pāṭa* which also expresses the same idea.

The Kannaḍa kinship terms have been included in the Table in Chapter V.

(3) *Tulu-speaking sub-region of Karnatak*

In the Tulu-speaking parts of the North Kanara District, except for Brahmīns and a few smaller castes, the majority follow the matrilineal family pattern. Among these the Bant and the Billava are the most important. The word Bant means "warriors" and they have traditions of being warriors in the medieval times. The Nāḍavara of the North Kanara districts are supposed to be a branch of the Bant though they now speak Kannaḍa and are patrilineal and patrilocal. The Billava are the Tulu-speaking toddy-tappers of the same district and are a numerous caste. They are supposed to be connected with the Illāvā and Thiyyā the toddy-tappers and coconut-planters of Malabar. A detailed anthropological investigation is necessary of these very interesting castes of the southern west-coast. Their kinship terms are very much like the Kannaḍa kinship terms. The most striking difference is that the terms used for 'father' and 'mother' in Kannaḍa and Telugu and Malyalam are used by these people with exactly the opposite meaning. *Appe* refers to mother and *amme* to father.

1. Fa	.. Amme, Bāpu.
2. Fa-Fa	.. Ajje.
3. Fa-Fa-Fa	.. Pijje, Muttajje.
4. Mo-Fa	.. Ajje.
5. Mo-Fa-Fa	.. Pijje, Muttajje.
6. Fa-Br	..
(a) Elder	.. Tidyamme Periyamme, Doḍḍappaye, Doḍḍaye.
(b) Younger	.. Nelyamme, Kinyamme.
7. Mo-Br	.. Sammele, Tammele, Aṇṇe, Māme.
(a) Elder	.. Malla
(b) Younger	.. Ellaya } Sammele, Tammele.
8. Mo	.. Appe, Tāyī.
9. Mo-Mo	.. Ajji.
10. Mo-Fa-Mo	.. Pijji, Muttajji.

11.	Fa-Mo	..	Ajji.
12.	Fa-Fa-Mo	..	Pijji, Muttajji.
13.	Fa-Si	..	Māmi.
	(a) Elder	..	Malla
	(b) Younger	..	Ellaya } Māmi.
14.	Mo-Si	..	Tiddappe.
	(a) Elder	..	Malla
	(b) Younger	..	Ellaya } Tiddappe.
15.	Br	..	
	(a) Elder	..	Pale, Palaye, Mallanne, Tage, Doḍḍanne.
	(b) Younger	..	Megge, Elliyanne.
16.	Fa-Br-So	..	
	(a) Older than ego	..	Pale.
	(b) Younger than ego	..	Megge.
17.	Fa-Si-So	..	Nanikke.
	(a) Older than ego	..	Bava.
	(b) Younger than ego	..	Arawate.
18.	Mo-Br-So	..	Nanikke.
	(a) Older than ego	..	Bava.
	(b) Younger than ego	..	Arawate.
19.	Mo-Si-So	..	
	(a) Older than ego	..	Pale.
	(b) Younger than ego	..	Megge.
20.	Si	..	
	(a) Elder	..	Pali.
	(b) Younger	..	Thangadi, Megadi, Megudi, Megdi.
21.	Fa-Br-Da	..	
	(a) Older than ego	..	Pali.
	(b) Younger than ego	..	Thangadi
22.	Fa-Si-Da	..	Maithadi, Maithidi.
	(a) Older than ego	..	
	(b) Younger than ego	..	
23.	Mo-Br-Da	..	Maithadi, Maithidi.
	(a) Older than ego	..	
	(b) Younger than ego	..	
24.	Mo-Si-Da	..	
	(a) Older than ego	..	Pali.
	(b) Younger than ego	..	Megadi.
25.	So	..	Mage, Monu.
26.	Br-So (Man-speaking)	..	Mage.
27.	Br-So (Woman-speaking)	..	Marumaye.
28.	Si-So (Man-speaking)	..	Marumaye, Aruwate, Aḷiya.
29.	Si-So (Woman-speaking)	..	Mage.
30.	So-So	..	Pulli.
31.	So-So-So	..	Pulli, Pulliya Mage.
32.	Da-So	..	Pulli.
33.	Da-So-So	..	Pulli, Pulliya Mage.
34.	Da-Da-So	..	Pulli, Pulliya Mage.

35.	Da	..	Magal, Magalu, Mōni.
36.	Br-Da (Man-speaking)	..	Magalu.
37.	Br-Da (Woman-speaking)	..	Marumal.
38.	Si-Da (Man-speaking)	..	Marumal.
39.	Si-Da (Woman-speaking)	..	Magalu.
40.	Da-Da	..	Pulli
41.	Da-Da-Da	..	Pulli, Pulliya Magal.
42.	Da-So-Da	..	Pulli, Pulliya Magal.
43.	So-Da	..	Pulli
44.	So-So-Da	..	Pulli, Pulliya Magal.
45.	Fa-Si-Hu	..	Sammele, Tammele.
46.	Hu-Fa	..	Sammele, Tammele, Māve.
47.	Wi-Fa	..	Sammele, Tammele, Māve.
48.	Mo-Si-Hu	..	Tiddiamme, Nēlyamme, Periyamme.
49.	Mo-Br-Wi	..	Māmi.
50.	Fa-Br-Wi	..	Tiddiappe, Nēlyappe, Periyappe.
51.	Hu-Mo	..	Māmi.
52.	Wi-Mo	..	Māmi.
53.	Hu	..	Kaṇḍaṇi, Gaṇḍusu, Kaṇḍaṇye.
54.	Hu-Br	..	Nanike.
	(a) Elder	..	Bave.
	(b) Younger	..	Maitane, Meitine.
55.	Wi-Br	..	Bāve, Nannatte, Nanake.
	(a) Elder	..	
	(b) Younger	..	
56.	Si-Hu (Man-speaking)	..	Bāve.
	(a) Elder sister's husband	..	
	(b) Younger sister's husband	..	
57.	Si-Hu (Woman-speaking)	..	
	(a) Elder sister's husband	..	Bāve.
	(b) Younger sister's husband	..	Meitine.
58.	Hu-Si-Hu	..	Palaye, Megge.
59.	Wi-Si-Hu	..	Palaye, Megge.
60.	So-Wi-Fa	..	Bāve, Maitane.
61.	Da-Hu-Fa	..	Bāve, Maitane.
62.	Wi	..	Budadi, Keipattinālu, Kānte.
63.	Hu-Si	..	Maithadi.
	(a) Elder	..	
	(b) Younger	..	
64.	Wi-Si	..	Maithadi.
	(a) Elder	..	
	(b) Younger	..	
65.	Br-Wi	..	
	(a) Elder brother's wife	..	Bāvadi, Maitadi.
	(b) Younger brother's wife	..	Maithadi.
66.	Br-Wi	..	
	(a) Elder brother's wife	..	Bāvadi, Maitadi.
	(b) Younger brother's wife	..	Maithadi.

67.	Hu-Br-Wi	..	
	(a) Husband's elder brother's wife	..	Pali.
	(b) Husband's younger brother's wife	..	Tangadi.
68.	Wi-Br-Wi	..	Pali, Tangadi.
69.	So-Wi-Mo	..	Maitadi.
70.	Da-Hu-Mo	..	Maitadi.
71.	Da-Hu	..	Marumaye, Aliya.
72.	Hu-Br-So	..	Mage.
73.	Hu-Si-So	..	Marumaye.
74.	Wi-Br-So	..	Marumaye.
75.	Wi-Si-So	..	Magal.
76.	So-Wi	..	Marumal.
77.	Hu-Br-Da	..	Magal.
78.	Hu-Si-Da	..	Marumal.
79.	Wi-Br-Da	..	Marumal.
80.	Wi-Si-Da	..	Magal.
81.	Father's wife other than ego's mother	..	Taṅkanadappe.
82.	Mother's husband other than ego's father	..	Taṅkanadamme.
83.	Co-wife	..	
84.	Co-husband	..	

Besides the terms *amme* (father) and *appe* (mother) the term *nannikke* is used for two male relatives. It is possible that where the word is used for sister's husband or wife's brother it may have been used for the elder sister's husband or wife's elder brother. However my informants were not clear on the point as the word is not used by all Bants.

The words for mother's brother are also a little unusual. *Sammati* may be derived from Sanskrit *sambandhi* meaning relation by marriage and may have been borrowed. *Tammele* seems to be made up of *tam* + *mele* (*tam* = mine, *mele* = elder person, person whom one should respect). It is also given as *sammele* by some informants. The word for father's sister is the feminine of the word *māmā* found in northern languages for mother's brother. The words *māmī*, *ājjī*, *pījjī*, *bāvā* and *maitane* show that Tulu has borrowed heavily from some Sanskritic language, possibly Konkani, which is its nearest neighbour.

The Bants practise cross-cousin marriage of both types but uncle-niece marriage is unknown. Remarriage of a widow is allowed but she cannot marry the brother or other agnate of her late husband.

The word *aruvate* is given by some informants as meaning 'cross-cousin' (father's sister's child or mother's brother's child). The Tulu dictionary gives its meaning as brother's son which would then be equivalent to Kannada *aḷiyā*. The word *aruvā* is used in the Kodagu language for a friend. *Aruvāme* means the friendship of two families.¹

The use of the word *appe* for mother, *amme* for father and *atte* for father's sister's husband lends support to my supposition that these words do not connote a definite relationship but have only the meaning "older than the speaker."

(4) *The Region of the Kui-speaking people*

I have three sets of this terminology. One is derived from personal enquiries among the Gonds of Southern Orissa region (A). The second (B) has been kindly given to me by Prof. HAIMENDORF who got it from the Gonds of the Adilabad district in Hyderabad (Deccan) territory and the third (C) is extracted from the excellent Gondi Grammar written by Mr. C. G. CHENEVIX TRENCH (Grammar of Gondi). To this I have added a fourth list (D), the terminology which I collected from the Koyas in Malkangiri area of South Orissa and at the tea-labourers' Central Bureau at Koraput from the Koya contingent which was travelling from their own country to the Assam tea-gardens. The Koya terminology is very fragmentary and was gathered in the short time available between taking anthropometric measurements and blood-groups in a great hurry as the Koyas in both places were on the move. The Gondi terminology collected by me is also incomplete.

The language of these groups is very like Telugu, the kinship terms however are mixed Telugu and Sanskritic, the latter having been borrowed from Uria and Marathi. This is especially the case as regards my Gondi sample which has hardly a Gondi word in it.

The terminations *ār*, *aḷ*, *āṇ*, *or*, etc., mean a person. *Rotor* thus means husband or wife, the meaning of the term being *rot* = house, *ār* = person—the mistress or the master of the house. All the terms in column A are derived from Sanskrit and need no great explaining. The word *buā* for father is rather strange. It is used in northern languages for father's sister's husband. In Marathi *buā* is not a kinship term at all but simply means 'man' (a grown up man) and as such may have been used by Gonds for father. The word *bāī* has been explained in the northern terms.

GONDI KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

	A	B	C	D
1. Father	.. Buā	Bābo	Āporal Thāpo Maipo	Yamāl Ammāl
2. Mother	.. Mā	Yaié Yāyāl	Awwāl Yāyāl Yāyané	Yāyi
3. Father's father	.. Dādi	Tado	—	Dado
4. Father's mother	.. Āyi	Bāpi	—	Bāpi
5. Mother's father	.. Ājā	Āko	Akko	Akko
6. Mother's mother	.. Bāi	Kāko	—	Kakko
7. Father's brother	.. Elder-Bođu	Pepi	Pepi	Pépe
Mother's sister's husband	.. } .. Younger-Kakkā	Kākāl	—	Kākā
8. Mother's brother	.. } .. Mamu	Māmāl	—	Māmā
Father's sister's husband	.. } .. Bubū	Āti	Āti	Poi, Poyé
9. Father's sister	.. }			
Mother's brother's wife	.. }			
10. Mother's elder sister	.. }			
Father's elder brother's wife	.. }	Perhor	Peri	Pedi

	<div> Mother's younger sister Father's younger brother's wife Step-mother </div>	<div> Sānmā Kaki Kuco Kuci </div>	
11.	<div> Brother Parallel-male cousin </div>	<div> Dādā Tammur Tannāl Tammur </div>	<div> Dādālo Tammuḍu Bada, Tudal Elladu, Piki Bhāto, Yerun Yerwupekkal Yeruḷ Yenge Marendar Yerawu. Pekk. Marre, Maru </div>
12.	<div> Sister Parallel-female cousin </div>	<div> Dākkā Selar Tākkā Selar (?) Yenāl Yene </div>	
13.	<div> Male cross Cousin </div>	<div> Sange Sanger-Bhāto Younger-Samadhī Elder-Bahu Younger- Samdhan Nātan Sāri Hansi (?) </div>	
14.	<div> Female cross Cousin </div>	<div> Marada Puo </div>	
15.	<div> Son Brother's son (man-speaking) Sister's son (woman- speaking) Husband's brother's son </div>		

	A	B	C	D
16.	Daughter Brother's daughter (man-speaking) .. Sister's daughter (woman-speaking) .. Husband's brother's daughter ..	Tang-miar	Miar Peki	Mayyāl Peki
17.	Sister's son .. (man-speaking) .. Brother's son (woman-speaking) .. Husband's sister's son ..	Sāre-mari	—	Ende-maru Koḍiār
18.	Sister's daughter (man-speaking) .. Brother's daughter (woman-speaking) .. Husband's sister's daughter ..	Sāre-miar	—	, Bhānji Kodial Ende Mayyal
19.	Son's son .. Daughter's son ..	Tange-mari	Tange-marri	

20.	Son's daughter Daughter's daughter	—	Tange-miar	Tange-miar	
21.	Husband	..	Manus	Marso	Rotor Mansal Manwal	Mudiāl
22.	Wife	..	Maiji	—	Rotor Maiji Maik	Mutte
23.	Husband's brother Elder Younger	Dedsasur Deur	Tadmurial, Bāvā Sarendar, Koko	— —	Dādā Erul
24.	Husband's brother's wife Elder Younger				— —
25.	Husband's sister Elder Younger		Tangorar, Āyā Serendar, Biye		
26.	Husband of No. 25	..				
27.	Wife's brother Elder Younger	Sasrā Sālā	Tadmurial Serendar	Taimurial Sarendu	Edam Tor Erupekka
28.	Wife's sister Elder Younger	Ded Sāsu Sāli	Tangorar Serendar	Tangorāl Serendal	Enge, Yenge Erawu pekkal Eru-pitti

	A	B	C	D
29.	Husband's mother Wife's mother Sasu	Porar, Ati Porar	—
30.	Husband's father Wife's father Sasra	Murial-māmā Māmural	—
31.	Brother's wife Elder's Younger's	Ange Tammun-koria Tange Serial-boriar	Yenge Kodiar Eravu-pekkal
32.	Sister's husband Elder's Younger's	Bhato Selar, Sare Koriar	Bhāto Ende thor Bhanji Kodial Anne
33.	Son's wife	..	Miar-sāre	—
34.	Daughter's husband	..	Sare-mari	—
35.	Brother of 33 & 34	..	Sare-miar	—
36.	Sister of 33 & 34	..	Tad-murial	—
37.	Wife's or husband's grandfather	..	Bapi	—
38.	Wife's or husband's grandmother	..		

It is an appellation of respect for any woman in Maharashtra. It is often used as a term of address for elder sister and the wife of husband's elder brother. It is found here for two older female relatives, i.e., for mother's mother in my Gondi sample and for elder sister in sample B. *Bodu* merely means 'the older'. The full word would be *bōdu bāp* = the elder father; but *bāp* is generally dropped and only *bōdu* retained in many Uria castes. The term *bubu* for father's sister is also borrowed from some Hindi usage. *Poi* and *poyé* in column D is also taken from the northern *phuī* or *phoī*. *Baḍai* = *boḍī* + *āi* elder mother. *Sanmā* — little mother. *Noni* for little sister, also means the little one. In the Marathi dialects the word *nāni* or *lhāni* is used for a little girl and as a pet name for a daughter. *Noni* seems to be the same word. In Orissa the open long *ā* or short *a* of Marathi tends to become a short *o*. *Bhāto* is a Marathi term in use since the 14th century and is found in old literature and folk-songs. In Marathi it is used for wife's elder brother who, according to the custom of cross-cousin marriage, would also be the elder male cross-cousin. The word for female cross-cousin is *bahu*, i.e., the daughter-in-law. The word *bahu* as stated already is used in two ways. A 'bahu' may be the daughter-in-law, i.e., the son's wife of the speaker or she may be simply a woman married into the family. The word for cross-cousin should be taken in this latter meaning. *Samdhan* is a woman related to you through marriage. The word is used in the northern languages for the mother of the son-in-law or of the daughter-in-law. *Nātan* means merely a female relation. *Sāri* is the same as Hindi *sālī*. *Hansi*, I am unable to account for. The word *maiḥi* is used all over southern Orissa in the jungle country for wife. The columns B, C and D are very much alike, mostly Dravidian, though some are apparently of northern origin.

Bābo is like the Marathi word *bābā* for father. In *apporāl*, *miāpo* or *māipo* the word is made up of *appā* or *appo*, a word found in Kannada and Tamil, and *āl* is the suffix meaning a person. What *miā* or *māi* mean I cannot tell. *Yammāl* is the same as *emmāl* and means 'our man' (cf. Tamil terms beginning with *em*). *Ammā* is the same as *emmāl*. The words *yāyi*, *yāyal*, etc., are very much like those of Marathi and Uria *āī* and derivatives of *ayyā* (cf. Tamil word *ayyā*). It is peculiar that the very usual Dravidian word *ammā* or the northern *mā* should not be used by these people. *Dādi*, *tādo* and *dādo* are all alike and have a northern (Uria) origin. *Bāpi* is the feminine of *bappā* (in Gujarat), *bāpa* or *bāpu* used in Marathi since the 14th century. The feminine is not

used in Marathi. *Āko*, *akko* seems to be an original Gondi word. The word *akkā* occurs in Tamil and Kannada for the elder sister and mother. The *o* ending is the old Uria, Marathi and Prakrit ending for masculine nouns and is found in terms like *babo*, *dādo*, *tādo*, *kāko*, *kakko*, etc., among Kui-speaking people. *Akko* or *āko* thus means a male person of an older generation. *Perhor*, *peri* and *pedi* all means the 'older' person. *Kuco* and *kuci* mean the younger one. *Tannāl* is made up of *tā*+*annā*+*al*. *Aṇṇa* or *annā* is a Kannada and Tamil word for elder brother or father. *Ta* is, like *tam*, a prefix meaning mine or our. (Cf. Tamil words beginning with *t*), and *āl* is the personal suffix. *Dādā*, *dādo*, etc., are borrowed words. *Tammu* is the same as Andhra (or Telugu) *tam-mudu* or Kannada *tammā* or Tamil *tampi* (*tam* + *pin* = my little one. *Didi* (Orissa and Bengal), *bāī* (Marathi), *baḍi* (Hindi, Uria) are all terms borrowed from the northern systems. *Tākā*, *takkā* are the same as the Tamil and Kannada *akkā* with the prefix *ta* for mine or ours. *Tudal* is not known to me as regards the exact meaning. *Selar* seems to be the same as Telugu *cellelu* or *celli* and means the 'little one'. *Piki* has the same meaning and is used for a young girl generally. *Elladu* is the same as Telugu *elladu*.

Yenge (column D—female cross-cousin) is obviously *enkai* = our child or girl. *Yenel* and *yene* on the same analogy would be *en-al* and *ennai* our man, our girl. What *yerun* or *yerawu* mean I do not know (They might be connected with the word *arawade* or *arawane* found among Bants who speak Tulu and who use it for cross-cousins or cross-nephews), *Marander* seems to be the same as Telugu *maradi*, Kannada *maida* and Tamil *maittunan*. *Mari* or *marre* and *mayyal* are found only in Kui languages. *Mari* in Kannada means the small one of an animal. *Mayyal* seems to be the same as *miar* = *mari* + *ār(l)*, the personal suffix added. For sister's son we have *sare-mari* the child of *sare* (*sālā*?) and *ende-maru*. *Maru* is found in Kannada. *Maru-maga* or *marmaye* and *marmal* in Tulu. The word *maru* is discussed at length elsewhere. What *ende* or *yende* is cannot be said unless it is *enne* or *yene* and would then mean "our *maru*" (ours by marriage). *Kodiar* seems to be the same as *kutiāl*, woman of the house. [cf. Tamil *or-kutiyir*—*koṇṭon* = husbands of two sisters; literally, a man who has taken—(*koṇṭon*) girl of the house (*kutiyir*) one (or)]. *Tange mari* and *tange miār* mean our little *miār* or *māri* and are used for grandson and grand-daughter. *Rotor* means the person of the house (*rot* = house + *or* = person). *Mudiāl*—the chief man, *mutte* = chief woman are used for husband and wife.

The words *muriāl* and *tadmuriāl* are interesting. In *tadmuriāl* the personal suffix *tad* is retained while it is lost in *muriāl*. *Tadmuriāl* means "my *muriāl*". *Muriāl* is made up of *muri* + *āl*, person—male—of *muri*. *Muri* is the same as *murai* in Tamil. *Murai-peṇ*, *murai-piḷḷai* are words used for a girl or boy whom one may marry. *Murai-āl* is therefore the chief man or man of the house into which the ego has married. *Tangorāl* = *tan* + *kodiār*. What *serendur* and *serendal* stand for I have been unable to find out. The word *boriār* found with the same meaning as *kodiār* is the northern word *bahuriā* (daughters-in-law).

As regards marriage practices the Gonds and Koyas practise both types of cross-cousin marriage. About uncle-niece marriage my informants were not consistent. Some denied such a custom while others asserted its existence. Some Gonds, especially those who have come in contact with the Marathi people said they did not allow the marriage of a man to his father's sister's daughter. As regards widow re-marriage the southern Gonds said that they did not allow junior levirate but northern Gonds not only allow it but insist on it. The primitives are affected everywhere by the practices of their Hindu neighbours and it is necessary to assess the practices of the Dravidian-speaking primitives from the jungles of the Godavari in the south to the jungles of southern Bihar in the north. Anthropologists have mentioned the marriage of a man with his grand-daughter. In my too short a contact with this people I was not able to get any information on this point.

The Gonds and Koyas are a patrilineal and patrilocal people divided into exogamous fratries. Their gods however, even though male, have a suffix which means a woman. Thus *parsā-peṇ* is a male god, though *peṇ* means woman in all Dravidian languages. Though many studies of these people have appeared one's knowledge about their kinship organization is meagre and a comprehensive study of all the allied tribes who have spread over a vast region is necessary not only for a clarification of their institutions but also because such a study may give an insight into the institutions of the other Dravidian-speaking people.

The Kolams who live in the Adilabad district of Hyderabad Deccan and in the Yeotmal and Wun districts of Maharashtra are a people speaking a Dravidian language. They are skilful cultivators and hunters and are employed by landlords to till their soil. They always live in a settlement of their own with their headman. The Kolam village is beautifully planned on the plan of a hollow square. They practise both types of cross-cousin mar-

riage. Uncle-niece marriage was not in evidence among the few settlements visited by me. They lived among Marathi speaking people and though they spoke a language of their own their kinship terminology, as will be seen from the list given below, has borrowed to a certain extent Marathi terms and expressions. My own list was very meagre and so I am reproducing below the list given to me very kindly by Prof. HAIMENDORF from his own notes on Kolams.

Father	—	Bānd
Father's brother	—	Perendā
Mother	—	Ammā
Mother's sister	—	Peramā
Grandfather	—	Ayyā
Mother's younger sister	}	— Saṇama
Sister's daughter		
Father's sister	—	Appā
Mother's brother	—	Māmā
Sister; son's daughter	—	Bāi
Grand-father	—	Akkā-bāi
Brother; son's son	—	Dādā
Elder brother	—	Doddan Dādā
Son; boy	—	Padas
Daughter; girl	—	Pillā
Sister's son	—	Bhāsā
Elder sister's husband	—	Bāvā
Younger sister's husband	—	Illāmā
Husband	—	Māsa
Wife	—	Māsā
Groom	—	Navrā Padas
Bride	—	Navari Pillā
Husband's elder brother	—	Tangod
Husband's younger brother	—	Marand
Wife's elder sister	—	Tangodā
Wife's younger sister	—	Marandā
Brother's wife	—	Vannā
Father-in-law	—	Sasarāk
Co-brothers (?)	—	Sagarā.

(5) *The Todas of the Nilgiri Hills*

The Todas are a pastoral tribe living in the Nilgiri hills. They have been made known to the world by Dr. Rivers through his

monograph on them.² In this book he has described in detail the life of the Todas and their social organization. Only the briefest resumé of the family organization need be given here.

They are patrilineal, patrilocal and polyandrous. Husband and wife may live in a separate house but sometimes there are bigger families. Cross-cousin marriage of both types is practised. They are divided into exogamous clans which derive their names from the chief village of the clan. Their kinship terms are in the Toda language. The list given below is from Dr. RIVERS' book.

Great-grandfather.	—	Peviān
Great-grandmother.	—	Peviāv
Grandfather.	—	Piān
Grandmother.	—	Piāv
Father.	—	In (aiā)
Mother.	—	Av (avā)
Son.	—	Mokh (enā)
Daughter.	—	Kugh (enā)
Grandson.	—	Mokh pedvai Mokh
Granddaughter.	—	Mokh pedvai Kugh
Elder brother.	—	An (Annā)
Brother of same age.	—	Egal (Egala)
Younger brother.	—	Nodr ved (endā)
Elder sister.	—	Akkan (Akkā)
Younger sister.	—	Nodr ved Kugh
Mother's brother, wife's father.	—	Mun (māmā)
Father's sister, wife's mother.	—	Mumi (mimiā)
Sister's son (man-speaking).	}	— Man mokh (enā)
Brother's son (woman-speaking).		
Sister's daughter (man-speaking).	}	— Man Kugh
Brother's daughter (woman-speaking).		
Child of a mother's brother or father's sister.	—	Matchuni
Husband.	—	Ol
Wife.	—	Kot vai; taz mokh
Male relatives of wife.	—	Pai ol
Son's wife.	—	Mot vilth

RIVERS does not say that the words *Man mokh* and *Man kugh* are used by a woman for her brother's children also but his description

makes it likely, a surmise supported by the later work of M. B. EMENEAU.

There are two facts about this tribe which I wish to stress here because they seem to me to be of importance for an understanding of the anthropology of this south-western corner of India.

The Todas are divided into two *endogamous* divisions. One is called Teivaliol and the other is called Tartharol. RIVERS thinks that Teivaliol is a compound word made up of the Sanskrit word *daiva* (pronounced as *taiva* in Dravidian languages) meaning god. Men from Teivaliol are chosen as priests for the sacred dairies of the Todas and they are the "god's people" while Tartharol are the "ordinary people". The explanation sounds plausible but I think another explanation suits the context better and helps to explain some aspects of the social organization, which remains a mystery otherwise. Teivaliol is made up of three words *tei*, *vali* and *ol*. *Tai* is the Dravidian word for mother, *vali* is another Dravidian word which means line or path and is found in such words as *vali—murai—tai* which means step-mother. Literally the expression means one who is in line with the mother. The words *vali* and *murai* having the same meaning. *Ol* is the Toda word for men or people. Thus *teivaliol* are people who follow the mother's line, were perhaps matrilineal, while *tartharol* are the people who follow the father's line, i.e., are patrilineal.

As a matter of fact all Todas whether Teivaliol or Tartharol are patrilineal and patrilocal but certain things noted by RIVERS seem to point out that the Teivaliol may have once been matrilineal.

The Todas are a purely pastoral people who get their cereal food from a cultivating caste called the Kotas. They tend buffaloes and milk them. They have an elaborate ritual connected with sacred buffaloes and sacred dairies. Women are not allowed to milk the animals, nor make butter. The woman must not touch any of the utensils used in the dairies. The Tartharol have the most sacred dairies and the more elaborate ritual but they always must have a Teivaliol man as the chief dairy-priest called Warsol in their sacred dairies. This Warsol is, however, spoken of and treated also as a servant. The whole Teivaliol clan is treated as inferior to the Tartharol. It would seem as if the Tartharol are the conquering pastoral people who have made some kind of an alliance with the conquered Teivaliol and made them do the most onerous task of becoming the chief dairyman of the sacred dairy.³

The second fact about these two divisions is that though they are strictly endogamous as regards legal marriages, they may and very

often do contract extra-marital sexual relationship among each other. This relationship is strictly regulated and has a social sanction. This union is called Mokhthoditi. A man in such a union is called a woman's Mokhthodvaiol, i.e., "man who keeps the *mokh* or child (with the woman)" and the woman is called Sedvaitaz-mokh, i.e., "woman who joins". A man asks the permission of a woman's husband or father or, if she is a widow, of her male relatives to enter into such an alliance. If they agree he has to give rich presents to her and to her relations and may then live with her. The difference between this union and the regular marriage is that a child of the union belongs to the woman's division of the tribe. If a Tartharol man has such a union with a Teivaliol woman, the child is Teivaliol and not Tartharol and if a Teivaliol man has such a union with a Tartharol woman the child is Tartharol but not Teivaliol. Though the child belongs to the mother's division, it does not belong to the mother's clan but to the mother's legal husband's clan.

Another peculiarity of this relationship arises out of the fact that the women of the Teivaliol division must never leave their territory to go into Tartharol villages. This taboo results in two types of Mokhthoditi relationship. If a Teivaliol man has this type of relationship to a widow of the Tartharol division, he can bring her to live with him and then it is like ordinary concubinage except that the child will belong to the mother's division. On the other hand if a Tartharol man has such a relation to a Teivaliol woman, because of the taboo mentioned above, he either comes and lives in the village of his partner or visits her occasionally, the children remaining in the woman's house.

The fact that no marriage is allowed between the two communities but that this type of extra-marital regulated relationship is allowed lends support to the surmise that the two divisions may represent two ethnic stocks, one a local matrilineal one and the other an immigrant patrilineal one. The relation between the Teivaliol women and Tartharol men has many analogies with the relationship between the matrilineal Nayars and the patrilineal Nambudris. The relation between the Nayars and the Nambudris was also not considered a regular marriage in former times. In the Nilgiri hills the Teivaliol seem to have copied the patrilineal family pattern of the Tartharol just as many communities in Kerala under cultural pressure from immigrant patrilineal people have changed the family pattern from a matrilineal to a patrilineal one.

	NAMBUDRI	NAYAR	SYRIAN CHRISTIAN	MAPLA
1. Father	.. Accan	Accan	Appaccan	Uppa, Vappa, Bāppā Uppappa
2. Father of 1	.. Muttaccan	Muttachan Veliyaccan	Valiappaccan	
3. Father of 2	.. —	Appoppom		
4. Mother	.. Ammā	Ammā	Ammacci Ammā	Umma, Ummacci
5. Wife of 2	.. Muttassi	Achammā	Valiammā	Valiyammā
6. Mother of 4	.. Ammatu Muttassi	Muttassi	Valiammā	”
7. Wife of 3 and mother of 6	..			
8. Father's sister	.. Accanpengal Achchol	Achchan pengal Chechi		Ammeyi
9. Mother's brother	.. Ammāman	Ammāman Ammāvan	Achāyan	Ikka or Māmā
10. Father's brother	.. Appan		Uppapan	
11. Mother's sister: Elder Younger	.. Perassi Chittassi	Valiyammā Cheriyymmā	Perammā Kochammā	
12. Brother: Elder	.. Chetan	Chettan Jettan Attan Aniyan	Ichayan	Ikka
Younger	.. Aniyan		Aniyan	Aniyan

(b) brothers				
	(woman-speaking)	—	Angal	—
(c) Father's		..		
	brother's			
	children	—		
13.	Sister:			
	Elder	..	Adatti	Itta
	Younger	..	Aniyatti	Jetati
14.	Cross-cousins	..	—	—
15.	Son	..	Makan	Machiniyan
			Perkutti	Perakidavu
16.	Son's son and daughter,	}		
	Daughter's son and daughter			
17.	Brother's son	}		
	(woman-speaking)		Marumakan	
	Sister's son			
	(man-speaking)			
18.	Daughter		Makal	
19.	Brother's daughter	}		
	(woman-speaking)		Marumakal	
	Sister's daughter			
	(man-speaking)		—	

		NAMBUDRI	NAYAR	SYRIAN CHRISTIAN	MAPLA
20.	Wife's brother	.. Aliyan	Aliyan		
21.	Mother's brother's wife	.. —	Ammāyi		
22.	Wife's sister's husband, Sister's husband, Husband's brother	.. —			
23.	Wife's father, Husband's father	} .. —			Māmā
24.	Brother's wife (man-speaking) Brother's wife (woman- speaking)	.. Atthemaru Jetati or Anujati			
25.	Husband's brother	.. Elaya-Nambudri	No terms for any other relation except descrip- tion like father's brother's son, e.g. achchate aniyante magan		
26.	Husband	.. Bhartā			
27.	Wife Marriage (Among all four castes)	.. Bhāryā		Veli or Penkode Talikettu Kalyanam	

The Toda situation is thus one which is not isolated but which should be taken as a phenomenon of cultural impact which has given us different cultural adjustments in different parts of south-western India.

(6) *Kerala (Malabar)**

The West coast of India is flanked by mountains in a North-South direction from the southern bank of the river Tapi almost to the southern tip of India. In this chain, there is a twenty-mile gap near the town of Coimbatore. Kerala, the land of the Malyalam-speaking people is the coastal strip from the Coimbatore gap almost upto Cape Comorin. This strip is also called the Malabar Coast. The mountain ranges in this region rise to a height of over 6000 feet above the sea-level and are densely covered by luxurious tropical forests and have been a barrier between Kerala and Tamilnad. Kerala or Malabar is connected with Tamil-speaking people in the South where the mountains disappear near Cape Comorin and leave an easily traversible sandy plain. Towards the north peoples from Tamilnad have entered Malabar through the twenty-mile gap while the Tulu-speaking people and people from Coorg have taken either a route through this gap or along the coast. In spite of this connection with neighbouring areas Kerala represents a land of isolation where ancient customs have been preserved and where immigrants soon lost contact with their homelands and made strange adaptations to the customs of the native population, thus themselves adding to the peculiarities of the land. Not only are the matrilineal Nayars, the core of Kerala people, a unique community in India, but the patrilineal Nambudri Brahmins have social institutions like no other Brahmins in India. The Syrian Christians and the Mapla or Mopla Muslims represent Christian and Muslim communities which also are unique in India. Side by side with these is a tiny community which is a patrilineal Hindu caste and practises fraternal polyandry. With such variety it is difficult to present one pattern of kinship for the people of Kerala and yet whatever the differences in family structure, they all use the Malyalam language and use a kinship terminology which differs but slightly from group to group. These differences do not originate in the divergences in the family organization, which are great, but they are more in the nature of dialectical differences. The Mapla Muslims use some terms not known to the Nayars but these terms may represent old Malyali words gone out of use among Hindus but

preserved among Maplas who are in many ways culturally isolated. The same is the case with the Syrian Christians. I was told by one of my Nayar students who was working in Travancore that the Nambudri Brahmins many times use words which are found among the lowest castes and not used by the Nayars. In his opinion that was due to the servants in Nambudri households whose language they heard and copied.

For reasons which will be made clear later the Malyalam terminology contains very few kinship terms and a list of the terms as used by the Nambudri, the Nayar, the Mapla and the Syrian Christians is given on p. 288 ff.

Among Nambudris a woman addressing her elder brother or referring to him will use the word *oppā*. A man speaking of his elder brother will call him *jyesthan*. In the same way when a man addresses or refers to his elder sister he uses the word *oppol*, but when a woman speaks of her elder sister she says simply *chettati* or *jyesthati*.

The small area where Malyalam is spoken contains almost all forms of family-organization found elsewhere in India. Matrilineal and patrilineal people have met and made curious modifications and adjustments in their separate systems due to their life together. Early impact with Christianity has resulted in strong patrilineal communities being established. Some Mohammedan converts like the Maplas have merely changed the religion but not the family organization, while there are some Maplas who claim to be patrilineal. There is at least one community which is patrilineal and polyandrous, while there are other communities like the Illavas or Thiyas and the Pulayas who have different types of families in different parts of this tiny province. The family organization for some major communities is described below.

The Syrian Christians

As stated above they are the earliest Christian converts in India. It is said that their church was established in India in the first few centuries A.D. They claim to be Nambudri Brahmins but one sees such varieties of features and skin-colours among them that one cannot at all be sure of their having belonged to one caste. They have a patrilineal and patrilocal family and the people I met told me emphatically that marriage within five generations of the mother's kin and seven generations from the father was not allowed among them. This is an ancient Smṛtic law. If their claim that they were originally Nambudris is true it seems that they

follow to the letter the ancient Brahmanic law of marriage which is also in force among Nambudris. It would be interesting to find out if they have no instances of cross-cousin marriage at all. My investigation has shown that in peninsular India (i.e. south of the river Narmada) though there are communities which profess a taboo on cross-cousin marriage there is a tendency to succumb to this very universal pattern of the southern zone. The Gujars, the Chitpavans, the Madhyandins, etc., in Maharashtra do not allow cross-cousin marriage but rare cases of such marriages occur and the community consents to them as the custom of the land. In the same way the Nambudris have also quoted a few cases of cross-cousin marriage as exceptional occurrences, not liked but reluctantly agreed to by the community. All the Syrian Christians I met denied the occurrence of cross-cousin marriage among them but the matter needs further investigation. It happens many times however that a community converted to Christianity or Islam is so cut off from the rest of the Hindu society that it retains customs, dress and language of an older generation which may have vanished among the Hindu castes. Among Syrian Christians the groom receives money from the bride's people—any sum from Rs. 1,000 to 10,000. The receiving of money by the groom is also a Brahmin custom.

The Maplas

The Maplas or Moplas represent the Muslim community of Kerala. They do not claim to be converts from any particular Hindu caste. Their men and women however have Arab blood in them and those who claim Arab descent hold themselves as higher in status than others. Some negroid features could be seen too, but that was due to negro household slaves, some remnants of whom are still found among Maplas. Most of the Maplas are matrilocal and matrilineal, but there is quite a considerable minority of patrilineal and patrilocal Maplas too. This involves the community in a large number of disputes as regards inheritance. For example a Mapla working in a Cochin factory was bringing a suit against his wife's brother for possession of his wife's mother's property. The wife came from people following matrilineal practices. The man belonged to a patrilineal household. As the wife's people were poor, they were glad to have the girl go away and live with her husband, while the mother lived with her son. After the mother's death the son-in-law put in a claim on behalf of his wife for inheriting the farm of his mother-in-law. I do not know how

the dispute was settled but the enquiries reveal the tension felt by many Maplas in the present situation. A Mapla from a patrilineal family said, "the divorce rate in patrilineal houses is increasing. These women get married again, only to be divorced. It was better in olden days when we had matrilineal families. Then a husband was an occasional visitor to the wife. Divorces were unknown and the question of remarriage for a woman came only if she lost her husband by death." To the query, "Did a man have more than one wife?", the answer was, "Yes, he did, but as one wife rarely met the other, there were no conflicts." This view may be too nostalgic but it gives a glimpse into the present Mapla society in a changing world.

Among the Maplas marriage with all cousins is allowed. Cross-cousin marriage is very common. Marriage of a man with his father's brother's daughter is coming into vogue now, though old people do not like it. Marriage with the mother's sister's daughter, unknown in olden days, is also being allowed now. We thus see that they are taking up more and more the marriage practices allowed by Mohommedan law though even now cross-cousin marriage is the most preferred form of marriage. A man cannot marry two sisters at the same time, but can marry his dead wife's younger or older sister. In the same way a widow can take her younger or older brother-in-law as her second husband, which is also a Mohommedan practice. Among matrilineal Maplas the house and property are inherited in the female line. It is however very common among rich Maplas for the husband to go and live in his wife's house. If the father has self-earned property it is divided among all his children, girls getting half the share of the boys.

The Nambudri Brahmins of Malabar

The Nambudris are patrilineal like the northerners but their family organization differs from that of the northern zone owing to its peculiar interconnection with the two most influential matrilineal communities of Malabar.

The Nambudri Brahmins have a patrilineal and patriarchal joint family in which a man, his wives, his sons, sons' wives and son's sons, his own unmarried daughters and his sons' unmarried daughters live. One custom however distinguishes this family from the northern patriarchal joint family and it is that all the sons of a man are not allowed to marry. One or two, the eldest and the next, generally marry while the rest remain unmarried.

As this practice is followed by all Nambudris, there is a perpetual surplus of marriageable young girls and the dowries are high. If a man wants to get his daughter married either he has to pay a heavy bride-groom price, or find out an impoverished Nambudri house and give perpetual financial assistance to the son-in-law, or consent to accept a daughter of the other house as a bride for his son. There are a number of people having two wives, though the practice is not universal. I was told that this peculiar custom of allowing only one or two sons to marry keeps the family property intact and the joint household never becomes too big to be supported from ancestral lands. As this object would be defeated by unrestricted polygyny the practice of a man having more than one wife is not as general as would be expected from the mere ratio of marriageable men to marriageable women. Many women remain unmarried. As it is considered that a woman does not attain heaven if she dies as a spinster, a spinster's body at her death goes through a marriage ceremony with somebody and is then cremated with all honours due to a married woman. If a woman is found to have sexual relations with anybody before marriage, a public enquiry used to be held and such a girl would be driven out of the community and handed over to the untouchables.

Because of this peculiar marriage custom the fertility potential of the community is not realized to its full value with the result that Nambudris are the one community which showed a steady decline in numbers in the successive censuses of 1911 to 1941. After this year 'caste' was not mentioned in later censuses.

The younger sons of the Nambudris who cannot be married contract connubial relations with the women of matrilineal Kshatriya and Nayar castes. Generally a Kshatriya male is the child of a Kshatriya female and a Nambudri male. A Kshatriya male cannot get a Nambudri woman but is the husband of a Nayar or a Kshatriya woman and his children are thus either Nayars or Kshatriyas of the second rank. Thus only a Kshatriya *woman* could have a Kshatriya progeny of the first rank while all the children of the Kshatriya males would go down in the social scale. It used to be the endeavour among high class Kshatriyas and Nayars for the women to have relations with Nambudri Brahmins only. This relation, to be fully understood, must be viewed from both the Nambudri and the Nayar or Kshatriya side. A brief account of the Nayar household is therefore given below.

Nayars have always been the fighting peoples of Kerala. What the distinction between Nayars and Kshatriyas is, is difficult to

tell. It seems as if the Kshatriyas are the same stock racially and culturally as the Nayars but belong to the families of the chieftains. Both of them have matrilineal and matrilocal joint families with nepotic succession to the headship of the joint family and to the throne among the Rajas. The Kshatriyas claim descent from the sun-family of the ancient Hindu Kshatriyas of the north—the house of Rama. All the sons born in Kshatriya families, i.e., the ruling houses of Travancore and Cochin have Sanskrit names of the Sun-god with the suffix *varmā*, the most usual names being Aditya-varmā, Ravi-varmā and Martanda-varmā. We have already seen that in olden times as a rule and even now generally the Kshatriya women have Nambudri Brahmins as husbands. Among rich landlords and feudal houses of Nayars also it is customary for the women to have Nambudri consorts. There is a village near Cochin belonging to a rich Nayar *thārwad* which is called “the village of evening visits of the Nambudris.” Among poorer Nayars cross-cousin marriage is favoured.

A Nayar household is formed by a woman, her sons and daughters and her daughters' sons and daughters. The husbands of the daughters are occasional visitors who never stay in the house, and the sons go to visit their wives and children at the wives' mothers' houses.

The Nayar woman's marriage is called *sambandham* and for some time it was held that the children of such a marriage could not be legitimate heirs of the *father*. As the original house was a matrilineal house based on ancestral agricultural land, the question of sons inheriting the father's property did not arise, but during the British rule many new ways of earning money were opened up so that a man could go out into other parts of the country and become a Government servant or engage in trade and commerce or take jobs in factories. The patriarchal family pattern which allowed a man to live with his wife and children was the pattern of the British rulers and was also convenient to the new economic set up and a great demand arose to place the Nayar type of marriage on the same footing as other patriarchal types of marriages. A law was passed in Madras, and later in Travancore, enabling a Nayar man to leave his self-earned money to his wife and children instead of their passing to the *thārwad* and therefore to his sisters and sisters' children. This law has been taken advantage of especially by many a younger son of the Nambudris who, instead of having a visiting relationship with their Nayar consorts, set up independent households and families on patriar-

chal lines. This however deprived them of the ancestral home as they could not take their non-Brahmin wives into the Brahmin joint family. Even now such a Brahmin always tells you that he is "living with his wife"! What the caste status of the sons and daughters is, is not known though they are certainly not Nambudris.

There are different ways of looking at the Nambudri-Nayar relationship and the gradual change in the family pattern of each. Many anthropologists have blamed Nambudris for exploiting the Nayar women. Many Nayar men have thought with shame and indignation of the relationship existing between themselves, their fathers and mothers. But it appears that the European or other outside observers did not understand the situation properly and the occasional outbursts of the Nayar youths about their family situation was due to feelings roused through modern culture-contact rather than from the inherent disharmony of the situation. The author has met a number of Nayars and Nambudris and their various evaluations of the social situation makes the present conflict clear.

In matrilineal houses the father is a visitor to the house of his wife but among well-to-do Kshatriyas the Nambudri father many times lives in the house of his wife. If he is an elder son of a Nambudri household he has also a home and wife of his own at the patrilineal house of his Nambudri kin. Such a man divides his time between the two houses. In his Nambudri house he is the master of the house and property and has the responsibility of bringing up his children. In his Kshatriya wife's house he has no standing at all. He is a friend and lover of the woman, a friend and sometimes a teacher of his children but the children are under the guardianship of his wife's brother, i.e., the maternal uncle. One must add all the caste taboos against taking food together to understand this peculiar position. A Nambudri is flattered if he has such a Kshatriya connection, especially if he is the consort of a princess. The Kshatriya women or their guardians pick and choose the best Nambudri youths. They must be of a well-to-do family, learned and good-looking. The Nambudri man who resides in his wife's household does not take his food with the family but eats apart. He has his Brahmanical baths and ritual performances. Custom forbids his friendly relations with his wife whom he may see only occasionally as she is in the inner apartments. He spends his time reading Sanskrit, playing chess or organizing Kathakali dance-performances. He can be and many times is a friend of

his children, but as they grow and assume different responsibilities they drift away from him. I was in a Kshatriya household taking blood samples. I had taken the sample from all but one—an old man standing a little apart and looking on. Then I told one of the young men that I would take the old man's sample too. I was answered, "You may if you like, but he is not one of us. He is our Nambudri father"! Later enquiry revealed that he was a younger son of a Nambudri, taken into the Kshatriya household as the husband of the eldest daughter and had lived there and grown old almost like a dependent. Nobody showed disrespect to him but nobody paid much attention to him either. There was no need for him to do anything or be consulted about anything—as they put it, "he was not one of them".

At Trichur I was in a household where the father was a Nambudri—a successful businessman and a younger son of a Nambudri family—who had married a Nayar woman according to the new law and had formed a family. His wife and children were with him. He was the supporter of his family, a guardian of his children and yet he said quite naturally—"I am the only Nambudri here. You see I am living with my Nayar wife". It was an independent household, as much his as his wife's but his social tie with his Nambudri relations was cut. They could never come to live with him or enjoy his hospitality. He might go there if he had not quarrelled with them. His wife on the other hand had access to her kin-group. His sisters and brothers were there at the time as guests on a long visit.

Tripunnithera is the Royal suburb of Cochin. There are over a hundred houses there, all belonging to the Royal princesses whose sons were likely heirs to the chieftdom of Cochin. The first two or three houses were of quite good dimensions, the next twenty like the bigger bungalows of the middle class merchants of Cochin and the rest were quite humble indeed. In each house was one princess and her Nambudri husband, with her brothers, sons and daughters. Some of the Nambudris had a separate Nambudri household of their own and they went and lived with the Nambudri wife and children occasionally though a considerable time was spent in the Kshatriya household where they were life-pensioners. Many of these Nambudris had English education and were also Sanskrit Pundits. They lived simply, without pomp or ostentation—indeed all Malabar life is simple—in a pension where they got a room, food and wife without having to pay for it. Household servants spoke of them with great respect, their children

seemed to be very friendly with them. One could not penetrate deeper than that.

But I have recorded two other incidents too. I was in a Nambudri household. Being a Brahmin, I was allowed to go inside and take the bloods of the women, busy in the kitchen. They came out of the kitchen one by one—small, very fair and very docile. Each took a bath afterwards as I had broken by my touch the purity needed for cooking a Brahmin meal. Then I went out, took the blood of the men and sat chatting while light refreshments were placed before me. The father of the house was not there. The eldest son and the younger uncles acted as hosts. The son being a college youth and rather modern had less restraint and spoke out his thoughts. "Our father comes home but seldom, his Kshatriya home is dearer to him than this". He was then sent out on some errand and the uncle explained how onerous was the position of a man who had been taken up by a Kshatriya woman and how the position brought gifts and honour!

In Travancore I met a young Nayar who spoke with great bitterness and feelings about this same relationship. He maintained that it was a travesty of the father-son relationship when the father would never even eat his meal with a son or a meal prepared by the wife. He talked enviously of the modern family unit made up of the husband, wife and children. One could see that his bitterness arose not simply out of the Nayar-Nambudri relationship, but that he was resenting the old social order of a matrilineal household and wanting the close bond between husband and wife depicted in the English literature he was reading and in the modern literature of his own country which is imitating the pattern of the Western love-stories.

In Cochin I met another Nayar young man who described the Nambudri in the matrilineal house as "the male concubine" of the mother. To my protest that he was putting it rather crassly he countered by asking me if I could think of any other function which the Nambudri fulfilled. He said that the best looking Nambudris were always selected by the powerful houses and the result was the very handsome rulers of Cochin and Travancore. For himself he said that in the matrilineal set up of the Kshatriyas and Nayars a man did not improve his social status by being the husband of a woman of a ruling house but by being the brother or the son of such a woman. He was right in so far that in Travancore and Cochin the personalities of importance were the ruling Prince called the Maharaja, his mother who was called the senior Maharani and his

sister, called the junior Maharani, whose son would succeed him. Nobody knew who the wife of the ruling prince was or who the husbands of the senior and junior Maharanis were. The same young man told me that he was attached to his mother's brother who had looked well after him. If his father were a Nayar perhaps there would have been a bond between father and son, but having a Nambudri father who "was not one of them" and who never shared food with them there was no rival to the attachment between the uncle and the nephew.

In Madras I met a Nambudri advocate with a very extensive practice and considerable income. He was a social reformer and wanted to change the antiquated mode of life of his community. He was unmarried, though middle-aged, and assured me in the course of a conversation that his one ambition in life was to marry a girl of *his own caste*. This rather surprised me, as in other parts of India, social reformers talk of breaking the caste-barriers and marrying *outside their own castes*. When I expressed my surprise he made the situation clear. He was the fifth or the sixth son of a Nambudri. His two eldest brothers were already married and according to the Nambudri custom all the rest had to remain unmarried. He could of course have an old-fashioned *sambandham* relationship with a Nayar woman. He could even marry her and set up an independent family according to the new law. He was independent of his family and rich enough to set up such a household if he chose. He assured me that he could choose and obtain a really suitable mate among the charming and educated Nayar girls, but being a social reformer he wanted to break this odious practice of the taboo on the marriage of a younger son of a Nambudri Brahmin and get a girl of his own caste. To his intense disgust and chagrin he found no Nambudri father willing to give his girl in marriage to a younger son and so the valiant reformer remained unmarried!

While in Calicut I witnessed a procession of young communists. At the head of the procession with banners in hand walked about a dozen young women. My companion showed them to me and exclaimed, "A few years ago no stranger saw so much as the toe-nail of a Nambudri woman. It was said that they were *asūryam-paśyā* (not to be seen even by the sun). And now these girls from the best Nambudri houses are walking the streets of Calicut in the company of rif-raff"! He further added, "They all are the younger and unmarried daughters of the big Nambudri houses here!"

These incidents bring forth the human tensions of such families and such curious social relationship as that between the Nambudris and Nayars. It appears wrong to say that one community has exploited the other.

The interrelation of the Nambudri and the Nayar is part of the larger problem of inter-caste and inter-group relations and cultural adjustments. Another problem of equal interest is the Nambudri family pattern itself. In the historical sketch of the ancient northern family, we have seen that there are grounds to believe that at one time the marriage of only the eldest son was permitted and that he alone succeeded to the father's property. This pattern is never fully described in the northern literature though there are various references which point to it. Even if such a pattern did exist in the north it broke down in the early days of the expansion of the Aryans in the fertile valley of the Ganga. As regards the Vedic schools of Brahmins we know that some of the most ancient schools are flourishing in the south while they have dwindled almost out of existence in the north. One wonders whether the Nambudris have preserved an ancient family pattern with one modification. Only the eldest son or two may marry and only the eldest inherits the property. The others however have no sexual right over the wife of the eldest. Can we say that the necessity for this vanished owing to the peculiar adjustment made possible by the co-existence of a matrilineal community among whom the husband did not form a family with his wife and children? It is not known when and from where the Nambudris came to Malabar. Everybody says that they came from northern India and their own tradition is in accordance with this. Whether originally they had the family law by which only the eldest married is also not known. Whether the Nambudris, isolated from the rest of the Brahmanic community, and thrown into an entirely different cultural environment, have preserved an ancient custom or whether they have modified their family pattern in response to new surroundings is a question not impossible of solution and close enquiry may reveal material which would answer this query. The polyandrous patrilineal organization of the Khashas of Jaunsar Bewar in the foothills of the Himalayas, and the patriarchal community of the Nambudris in the coastal plain at the foot of the Travancore high ranges may either represent survivals of archaic types, or new modifications in response to new physical and cultural environments.

The Kshatriya and Nayar family patterns are almost alike except that in the family of the ruling houses the joint family and

the memory of the rights of succession, etc., are kept very much longer than among the ordinary Nayar families. The example of the ruling house of Cochin will make this clear. The law of succession is that the eldest male in the matrilineal house shall succeed the ruler. If the ruler has brothers they succeed him one after another. After them the succession goes to the sons of the sisters; whoever is the eldest among them comes first and when all run through the succession, it passes to the sons of the daughters of the sisters. It is thus a fraternal and nepotic (the cross-nephew) succession. The sons and sons' sons of the ruling prince have no chance of succeeding. If the sister of the ruling prince has no male issue or if the ruling prince has no sisters then daughters are adopted and there are instances of such adoptions in both the ruling houses of Cochin and Travancore. Due to fraternal succession the man who succeeds is generally nearly as old as the one who died and there are a number of rulers in a few years' time as actually did happen in Cochin during the last two decades. Near Cochin is a suburb called Tripunnithera which is a city of princes and princesses with a Nambudri Brahmin settled in each. At present there are about a hundred princes of Cochin and each knows exactly his position as regards succession. It is not at all very unusual to get a letter or an application for a post signed by a person, the 58th or nth prince of Cochin!

Among the Kshatriyas there is a definite hierarchy. The women of the ruling house were supposed to consort with Nambudris only. Their sons had either Nayar wives or Kshatriya wives of a lower rank. In recent years the reform movement has tended to break the Nambudri connection and more and more Kshatriya women are marrying Kshatriya men. It may be owing to the long association with learned Nambudri fathers that the Kshatriyas (the ruling clans) of Cochin and Travancore are the most cultured and learned in the whole of India. Many of them are fine scholars, musicians, painters and art lovers. The mode of life is simple in the extreme and Brahmanical. They are generally very handsome, gentle and courteous. Their women too are cultured and one is struck by the complete lack of gaudiness and show evinced in the life of Malabar Kshatriyas.

The Nayar family pattern is the same as that of the Kshatriyas. The women of richer Nayar families have Brahmin consorts, some have Kshatriyas and some Nayars of different standing. This has resulted in hypergamous sub-castes among Nayars. The Nayar matrilineal joint family is called *thārwad*. It is made up of a

woman and her sisters and brothers, the sons and daughters of herself and of the sisters and the children of her daughters and her sisters' daughters. The husbands of all the women of this household belong to other *thārwads* and visit the wives occasionally of an evening or are sometimes called for a special feast. The wives of all the males of this *thārwad* also live in other *thārwads* and are visited there by the males. Thus the family does not allow any affinal relations to live in the same household as the blood relations. Also excluded from the household are the children of the males, though they are blood-relations. A man's mother, brothers, sisters, mother's sisters, mother's brothers, sisters' sons and daughters share the house. Husbands and wives do not live together and so the ceremonial and ritual by which a member of another family is incorporated into one's own, as in the case of the northern family, is not found in the Nayar community. Sometimes as an exception, one affinal relation is brought to stay in this matrilineal family. This relation is the wife of the eldest male *karnavan*. The *karnavan* is generally the mother's brother (from the point of view of the growing children) and is called *ammān*. His wife, who is brought to stay in the matrilineal house is called *ammāyi ammā*. Her presence is resented by the members of the matrilineal household. She generally does not live with the other members of the family and has a slightly separate establishment apart from the others. What happens to this lady if her husband dies before her, was not made clear to me. There are in the Malayalam language, some proverbs about the *ammāyi ammā* which reflect her unpopularity.

As the husband is not a member of the wife's household his family and her family are not bound together by ties of co-residence or constant and mutual gift-giving. The Nayar family is illustrative of the minimal contact which two families can have in spite of the necessity of exchange of sexual partnership. It also explains the lack of terms for a number of relatives who are of importance in other family patterns studied upto now. Very few kinship terms are used by Nayars and by Malayalam-speaking people generally. An enquiry elicits the reply that there are no kinship terms for certain relations or if after some thought kinship terms are supplied, they are purely Sanskrit. The kinship terms are easy to understand. Only a few need an explanation.

There is no term for husband's brother. The term used for wife's brother is *aḷiyan*. The mother's brother or a brother of a woman either seek a bride-groom for her or consent to her choice.

If a man does not like his sister's husband he orders her to break with him and so the wife's brother is an important personage.

The term *āngal*, used for brothers by a woman, means merely 'menfolk' and naturally cannot be used by a man. In the same way the term *pengal* used by men while speaking of sisters means 'womenfolk' and can be used by men only.

The Nambudri term *oppol* used by men for elder sister seems to be made up of two words *oppa*+*ol*. The word may merely mean a person who is older. The Kannada and other Dravidian terms like *āppā*, *akkā*, *ammā* seem to change their initial vowels in Malayalam.

The term *ikkā* used for maternal uncle by the Maplas seems to be a strange term and is supposed to be of foreign origin. I cannot say what it denotes or whether it is foreign. At Tripunnithera while recording the names of the daughters of the Royal clan I found that each name is preceded by the word *ikkāvu* which is supposed to be a title for all these girls. *Ikkā* and *ikkāvu* seem to be connected words used for persons whom one respects and may be of purely Dravidian origin.

The term *accan* is used by higher castes. The term *appan* is used by lower castes, especially Pulaya, and Mr. Unni, my Nayar student, noted that the Nambudris use certain words and expressions commonly found among the lower classes. He suggested that was due to their learning the expressions from their servants.

The terms *māmā* and *māmi* are not found in Malayalam. For father's sister the usual Dravidian word *atte* is also missing. Sometimes the informants do not give any word for father's sister (with whom after all in the Nayar household there is almost no contact), or they give the term *acci* (or *aśśi*) the feminine form of *accan*. The term for mother's brother is *ammān* the grammatical masculine form for the word *ammā* meaning mother. The term for *ammān*'s wife is *ammāyī ammā*.

The property and the house in a *thārwad* all belong to the women of the family but the actual manager is the eldest male who is called the *karnavan*, which is derived from a Sanskrit root and means "one who does things" and is equivalent to the northern word *kartā*. The succession to *karnavanship* is according to age and generation. A man is succeeded by his younger brothers and then by his eldest sister's eldest son. A man or a boy is known by his name and the name of the *thārwad* to which he belongs. The *thārwad* is always named after an ancestress and referred to as the *thārwad* of so and so (woman). If a man does not belong to a

thārwad he is not respected and I was told by an officer in a mill that though he was well educated and a salaried man he had not the requisite social position as they were landless orphans. If he bought land, built a house and settled there with his sister, bringing up her children, he would gain social status. He said he knew of many a poor labourer serving in the mill, saving money to establish a *thārwad* in his sister's name and become 'somebody' in his caste.

In Kerala the name of the *thārwad* and the own name were used in olden times to designate a person. In modern times, the schools require the guardian's name which is put down as the middle initial of the child. Raman K. Nayar would stand for Raman (own name), Karunakaran (the maternal uncle's name), and Nayar, the caste name turned into a family name. In patriarchal societies like the Marathas the middle initial, standing for the father's name, would be the same for all children of a man. In a Nayar household the middle initial will change according to who happens to be *karnavan* at the time the boy was put to school. This information was acquired quite by accident when I was assisted in my work by two brothers with different middle initials. My informant told me that he and his brother had different initials as they had different *karnavans* when put to school. The same informant brought to my notice a law-suit which was brought in the local court owing to a dispute between a man and his wife's maternal uncle who was the *karnavan* of the wife's house. The two sons of the marriage had lived with the mother and the maternal uncle for some time and then the father had taken them away to the place where he was serving outside Kerala. The boys were put to school and the name of the father was entered as the guardian. This was resented by the maternal uncle who brought a suit against the father. How the case was settled I do not know. These incidents bring out the human relationships of the matriarchal household in its last stages of dissolution.

Investigators have recorded polyandrous marriage among the Nayars. No present-day polyandrous connections have come to my notice, but investigations have shown that not more than twenty-five to forty years ago such connections were entered into in rare cases and there are people alive who gave details of it. I am indebted to my student Mr. Raman UNNI for the following account. Only a few cases of polyandrous connections could be established in his locality. They were all among the richest Nayar families and represented a free choice by the woman with however the con-

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sent of the *karnavan*. The mode of this connection was that the husband of the woman brought a friend of his on one of his visits. The friend liked the woman and the woman liked the friend who, in consultation with his friend the husband, gave the lady some beautiful saris and oil. When matters had gone so far the mother of the lady tactfully revealed the matter to the *karnavan* who thought over the matter and gave his consent to the friendship whereupon the presents were accepted by the lady and the second man became the second husband of the lady. Both the friends kept this relationship without quarrel until their deaths. From the records it appears that the second simultaneous relationship was not celebrated as a marriage.

A Nayar woman is supplied with oil and clothing from her husband's house. Even when she is widowed these things are sent to her. But if she marries again the responsibility of the first husband's family ceases.

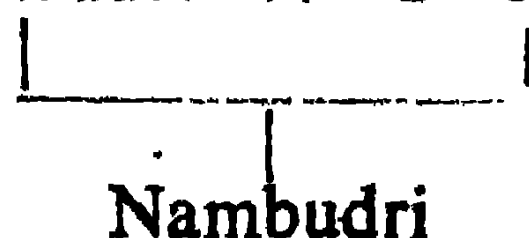
Divorce is allowed and practised among the lower strata of the Nayars. It is not an elaborate procedure. No compensation of any kind is paid to either party.

The hypergamy in Travancore and Cochin involves three different castes as has been described above. These three castes are : the Kshatriya, the Nayar and the Nambudri. Their inter-relation is as follows: A Nambudri man or a woman is a child of a Nambudri father and a Nambudri mother. A Kshatriya man or a Kshatriya woman is a child of a Kshatriya woman and a Nambudri man.⁴ It is the endeavour of every well-born Kshatriya woman to contract a *sambandham* marriage with a Nambudri. In the case of very rich landlords or chieftains and Royal princesses, Nambudri consorts are brought and established in the matrilineal house. In the case of others, like other husbands, they occasionally visit their Kshatriya wives. A Kshatriya male marries either a Kshatriya woman or a Nayar woman of a very high status. His children, both male and female would no longer be Kshatriyas.

A Nayar was the child of a Kshatriya male and a Nayar female, or a Nambudri male and a Nayar female, or a Nayar male and a Nayar female. Among Nayars there are many sub-groups arranged in a hierarchical manner depending on whose child the Nayar is. There is a sub-caste which is not exactly Nayar, formed of the progeny of a Kshatriya male and a Kshatriya female.

In the patrilineal Rajput hypergamy of the north, a woman secured a higher status for her children by marrying a man of a higher caste. A man's children did not lose caste by

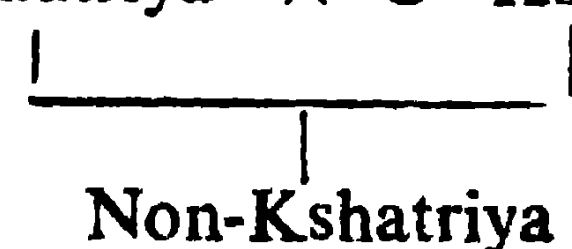
(1) Δ Nambudri \times \bigcirc Nambudri



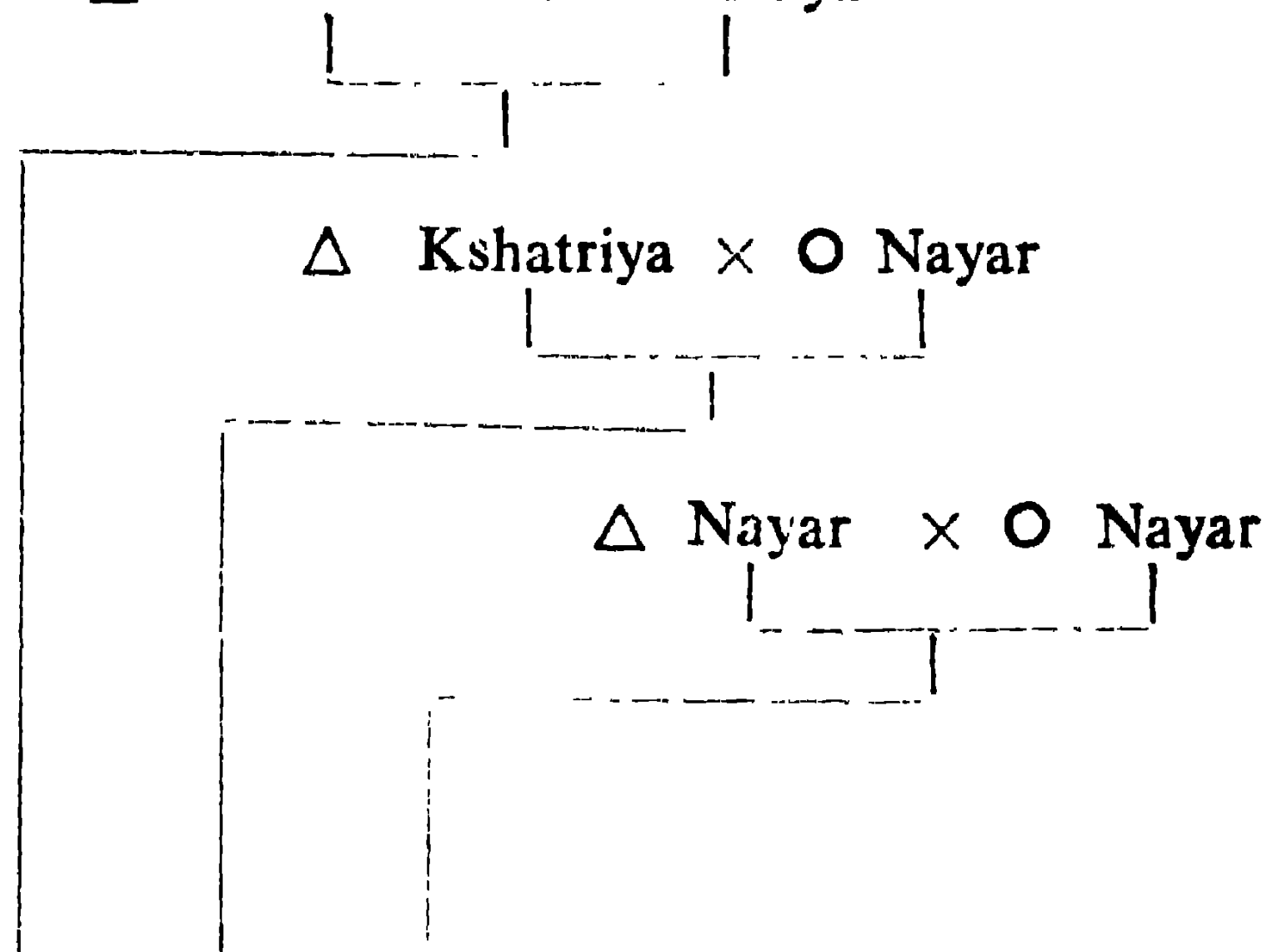
(2) Δ Nambudri \times \bigcirc Kshatriya



(3) Δ Kshatriya \times \bigcirc Kshatriya



(4) Δ Nambudri \times \bigcirc Nayar



Nayars of different status

marrying women who were their equals or slightly lower in rank. In Kerala the status of a child is that of its mother but it is also conditioned by the status of its father. In patrilineal hierarchy the women tended to go higher up in the social ladder. In this type the progeny of women retain their status while the men necessarily go down as they may marry either their equals or their inferiors. This is not a simple hypergamy and just a reverse of the patrilineal hypergamy but the phenomenon is complicated by the existence of the Nambudri caste, whose women are not available as spouses to the other castes and who hold a social status in the caste-structure which is analogous to that of the highest Rajput clans. This is a social phenomenon which has resulted in caste

hypergamy owing to certain extraordinary adaptations of patrilineal and matrilineal communities towards one another. Several conditions led to it. One was the custom of the Nambudris by which only one or two sons married. Another was the possibility of these sons entering into a sexual partnership with women of matrilineal households without involving their own patrilineal household into the responsibility of bringing up the children. A third condition may be the acceptance of these Nambudris by the powerful ruling houses of the matrilineal community. These houses could attach to their houses the male partners who pleased them most. Such male partners had no functions in their own patri-family as Kshatriya or Nayar male partners would have had in their matri-family and so were available as house-mates.

The Kerala family among the matrilineal people thus represents a sexual partnership of husband and wife which carries the least number of duties on the part of the male—which does not even involve constant companionship unless it is a relationship with an unattached male belonging to a patrilineal community like the Nambudri.

There is a small community in Kerala called the Asari. This caste is goldsmith by profession. It is patrilineal and patrilocal and practises fraternal polyandry up to the present time. A man is married to a girl. The form of marriage is that of the usual individual marriage and the bride is shared by all brothers. It has not been possible for me to gather all the necessary facts to give an exact picture of this relationship and as to how fatherhood is determined. I found people extremely reluctant to talk about this practice and must content myself with this brief notice which will give an idea of the variety and complexity of family organization in the Malyali region.

No special description for the Tamilnad is given in this chapter as the terminology has been discussed in detail in the previous chapter. It may be noted however that though Tamilnad is predominantly patrilineal and patrilocal, there are communities in the southern parts which are partly matrilineal and partly patrilineal. One such community are the Kallars of Tanjore and Madura districts, who have been described by Louis DUMONT.⁵ This community may represent cultural communications with Kerala via the southern route or may represent the existence of matrilineal institutions over a wide territory in the Dravidian South. This question can be set at rest only by detailed studies of all communities of the South.

ADDENDUM

My student, Mr. Lakshminarayana, studying family organization in Mysore, points out that my contention that kinship organization in the south is dependent on the ⁴chronological age differences rather than on the principle of generational divisions as in the north, seems to be borne out by the data he has collected in the course of his investigations.

He found that the respect which is shown by one person to another depends upon the *ages* of the two people rather than one the fact of the generation to which they belong. For example in a family if a woman's daughter is older than the younger brothers or sisters of the woman, they have to show deference to her (the daughter). In the north, the daughter as niece would have to show deference to all the siblings of her mother *whatever their ages*. The same behaviour is seen in the case of uncles and nephews. If the son of a man is older than the brothers of the man, he receives marks of respect like bowing to the feet from his younger uncles in the south. Also, an older brother's wife, if she is younger than her husband's brother, does not receive the tokens of respect which are given to a similarly situated woman in the north. Mr. Lakshminarayana reports this behaviour from a family which is orthodox and which belongs to the Kurainsetti caste.

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¹ M. N. SHRINIVAS, *Religion and Society among Coorgs of South India*, pp. 56, 57, 124, etc., Oxford, 1952.

² W. H. R. RIVERS, *The Todas*, 1906.

Prof. M. B. EMENEAU wrote about the same people after studying them again in 1938. Unfortunately I have not been able to read the paper.

³ Some anthropologists may argue that the dairy ritual was original to the Teivaliol people and the conquerors (the Tartharol), while usurping power, left the ritual in the hands of the original priests. A very likely explanation, but pastoralism seems to be an outside element in the south.

⁴ I have already stated above that in modern times the marriage or liaison with the Nambudris is on the wane among Kshatriyas as well as Nayars. The author has however seen many families which still keep to the orthodox mating rules recounted here.

⁵ *Eastern Anthropologist*, Vol. IV, No. 1. Sept.-Nov. 1950-51.

APPENDIX 1

(Extract from the Ph.D. thesis of Mrs. BHAVANI BANERJI)
 [This thesis is shortly being published by the Deccan College.]
 Statistical tables for Gangadikar Vokkaliga castes in two Villages are given below. These are near Mysore.

I

<i>Name of the Village</i>	<i>Kin and Non-Kin Marriages</i>	<i>Total number of</i>
	<i>Kin</i>	<i>Non-Kin</i>
		<i>of marriages</i>
Bogadi	89	160
Pannikan Halli	146	113
	235	273
	(46.25%)	(53.75%)

II

Region within which marriages take place

<i>Name of the Village</i>	<i>Within the Village</i>	<i>0-5 miles from the Village</i>	<i>6-10</i>	<i>Above</i>	<i>Total No. of marriage</i>
Bogadi	66	106	33	44	249
Pannikan Halli	69	103	50	37	259
	135	209	83	81	508
	(26.6%)	(41.1%)	(16.4%)	(15.9%)	

III

Analysis of the kin-marriages

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Bogadi</i>	<i>Pennikan Halli</i>
Man marrying his Father's sister's or female cousin's daughter	15	15
Man marrying his mother's brother's or male cousin's daughter	26	31
Man marrying his elder sister's daughter	15	46
Other types	33	54
Total	89	146

Of these, marriages with father's sister's daughter and sister's daughter represent reciprocity, i.e., a daughter is demanded from the house into which a daughter has been given. These two types of marriages together are in a larger percentage than the other type of cross-cousin marriage. But the marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter representing a one-way transaction are in far larger numbers than expected; however the data show that where such marriages have occurred the two families have been in a give-and-take relationship over generations. Further analysis of these give-and-take relationships must be undertaken before a definite statement can be made.

APPENDIX 2

KINSHIP TERMS USED BY THE BUNTS* IN TULU

(Informant, Mr. Dumanna Rai; collected by Dr. D. N. Shankara Bhat, Deccan College, Poona.)

1. Fa	.. Amme
2. Fa-Fa	.. Ajje
3. Fa-Fa-Fa	.. Tonḍajje
4. Mo-Fa	.. Ajje
5. Mo-Fa-Fa	.. Tonḍajje
6. Fa-Br older	.. Ne:lyamme
younger	.. Sidyamme
7. Mo-Br	.. Samma:le
8. Mo	.. Appe
9. Mo-Mo	.. Ajji
10. Mo-Fa-Mo	.. Tonḍajji
11. Fa-Mo	.. Ajji
12. Fa-Fa-Mo	.. Tonḍajji
13. Fa-Si	.. Ma:mi
14. Mo-Si older	.. Ne:lyappe
younger	.. Sidyappe
15. Br older	.. Anne
younger	.. Megye
16. Fa-Br-So older	.. Anne
younger	.. Megye
17. Fa-Si-So	.. Ba:ve
18. Mo-Br-So	.. Ba:ve
19. Fa-Si-So	.. Ba:ve
20. Si older	.. Akke
younger	.. Megudi

* Bunt is the name of a matrilineal agricultural caste near Mangalore.

21.	Fa-Br-Da older	..	Akke
	younger	..	Megudi
22.	Fa-Si-Da	..	Attige
23.	Mo-Br-Da	..	Attige
24.	Mo-Si-Da	..	Akke, etc.
25.	So	..	Mage
26.	Br-So	..	Mage
27.	Si-So	..	Aruvatte, Marma:ye
28.	Si-So	..	Aruvatte, Marma:ye
30.	SoSo	..	Pul̥li
32.	Da-So	..	Pul̥li
34.	Da	..	Magaḷu
37.	Si-Da	..	Marmaḷu
39.	Da-Da	..	Pul̥li
41.	So-Da	..	Pul̥li
43.	Fa-Si-Hu	..	Samma:le
44.	Hu-Fa	..	Samma:le
45.	Wi-Fa	..	Sammale
46.	Mo-Si-Hu older sister's	..	Ne:lyamme
	younger sister's	..	Sidyamme
47.	Mo-Br-Wi	..	Ma:mi
48.	Fa-Br-Wi older brother's	..	Ne:lyappe
	younger brother's	..	Sidyappe
49.	Hu-Mo	..	Ma:mi
50.	Wi-Mo	..	Ma:mi
51.	Hu	..	Kaṇḍaṇi
52.	Hu-Br older	..	Ba:veru
	younger	..	Ba:ve
53.	Wi-Br	..	Ba:ve
54.	Si-Hu	..	Ba:ve
57.	So-Wi-Fa	..	Ba:ve
58.	Da-Hu-Fa	..	
59.	Wi	..	Buḍeti
60.	Hu-Si	..	Attige
61.	Wi-Si	..	Mayteti
62.	Br-Wi	..	Mayteti
65.	So-Wi-Mo	..	Akke
66.	Da-Hu-Mo	..	Akke
67.	Da-Hu	..	Marmaye
72.	So-Wi	..	Marmaḷu

THE KINSHIP ORGANIZATION OF THE EASTERN ZONE

In this Chapter are included some of the people of the north-east and the east who speak Mundari and Monkhmer languages.

The northern, central and southern zones are compact and geographically contiguous. The eastern zone shows neither of these characteristics.

The Mundari- and Monkhmer-speaking groups, though spread over a very wide area, represent today linguistic islands separated from each other by regions where other languages are spoken. Even within these linguistic islands the penetration of other linguistic groups and the consequent contamination of other languages is very great.

The Mundari and Monkhmer languages belong to a language family called the Austro-Asiatic family of languages. Languages of this family are spoken by many peoples of south-east Asia. All these people live as scattered groups among people speaking other languages like the Tibeto-Burmese, Chinese, Aryan and Dravidian. The western-most people of this group are the Korku who live in central India in the Satpura and Vindhya ranges. The eastern-most people are the Annamese on the south-eastern coast of the Asiatic mainland. The southern-most people are the primitive Sakai and Semang living in the jungles of Malay peninsula. The northern-most people are the Khasi of Assam in India. The Austro-Asiatic languages are divided into two great groups of languages, the Monkhmer and the Mundari. Of these the people who speak Monkhmer languages are all, with the exception of the Khasi, outside and to the east of India; those who speak Mundari are found in central and eastern India. The speakers of Mon, Khmer and Cham had built great empires and have records of their languages in inscriptions of the 7th and the 8th century of the Christian Era. The other speakers of the Monkhmer group and all the speakers of the Mundari group are represented today by the so-called primitive tribes living in jungles and ranging from nomadic hunters to cultivators of rice.

Even when one confines oneself to these tribes of the above group who are resident in India, it is very difficult to describe their kin-

ship organization as belonging to one pattern or type.

A great deal of work has been done on these tribes and articles and monographs about them are available to students.¹ These give information about the clan system, marriage customs and family organization of some of these people but except for the Bondos any record of actual marriages or stories giving a glimpse into kinship conduct are lacking. My own contact with these people has been also very fleeting and so all that this chapter intends to do is to present the problem of cultural anthropology of India as it concerns the speakers of this family of languages. We have dealt with the kinship organization of the people speaking the Sanskritic and Dravidian languages. These are the two major partners in Indian culture. The people of the eastern zone are the third known partner whose cultural contribution we are trying to discover.

These people represent remnants of a once more wide-spread and numerous group. Today they live scattered, surrounded by later immigrants. They have borrowed much from their neighbours whose material culture far surpasses theirs. They have no writing to give a definite clue to their laws and traditions. Every aspect of their life has been influenced by the others. It is necessary to find out at least approximately what type of social organization they represent. The best guide for this is their own society as it exists at present, their own traditions as regards their past and any record of them which may be available in the literature of the two literate partners. The facts one wants to know about them are :

How far westward was the extension of these people?

Did they enter India from the east?

Are all the primitive people in India representative of this third partner?

Answers to these questions—even provisional ones—would make clear the inter-relation of the three main streams which have gone to make the Indian culture.

The most westerly of these people are a tribe called the Korku found in Central India. There is no linguistic evidence to suggest that they once occupied any region west of their present home. This, however, is not evidence based on thorough investigation of the languages spoken by the many primitive and semi-primitive

people of this area. There is a possibility that such work may discover elements of submerged languages in their speech.

The Mundas themselves, according to S. C. Roy, have a tradition of having been pushed eastward from an ancient habitat as far westward as the provinces of northern Rajasthan and Delhi. They have, however, no tradition which connects them with the south.

As regards the original home of these people all the present linguistic evidence points to the east—very probably the south-eastern portion of China as the original home of the people speaking the Mundari and Monkhmer languages. Certain traits of material culture or of the social organization also connect them with south-east Asia. One such is the shouldered celt which is found among the Mundari-speaking people, as also among the Monkhmer-speaking primitive tribes in Burma and Indo-China. Another feature is the upright and horizontal stone slabs which are erected as monuments to the dead and which characterize all Munda villages. Such monuments are also found among other people of farther east. One of the social institutions peculiar to these people are the dormitories of the bachelors and spinsters which seem to have been copied by the Gonds.

This brings us to our last query. Barring the Tibeto-Burman speaking people of the eastern and central Himalayan foothills, the languages spoken by the primitives are Sanskritic, Dravidian and Mundari. The Bhil, the Thakur, the Katkari, the Warli of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra speak some kind of dialects of Rajasthani, Gujarati and Marathi, i.e., Sanskritic languages. There are some non-Sanskritic words in their languages but what their affinities are has not been studied so far.

The various types of Kuruba (Jenu Kuruba, Betta Kuruba, etc.), the Kadar, Urali, Manan, Toda and other tribes of the Mysore plateau and Nilgiri hills speak dialects akin to Kannada, Malayalam and Tamil languages. The Chenchus speak Telugu. The Koya, the Gond and the Kondh speak a Dravidian language called Kui and the Oraon of the Chhota Nagpur plateau speak Kurukh, also a Dravidian language.

The important tribes which speak Mundari are, from south to north, the Bondo, the Gadaba, the Saora, the Korku, the Munda, the Santal; and the Monkhmer-speaking tribe is the Khasi of Assam.

From among these people it is almost certain that the original language of the Bhils was not a Sanskritic language and that they have adopted the language of the region in which they find themselves. The same statement can be made of the other tribes who

speak some type of Sanskritic languages.

As regards the south-western primitive tribes they speak Dravidian languages which are very akin to the dialects of the language of the region in which these tribes live. These tribes are so small that they might be the remnants of larger tribes who have been absorbed in the people of the different regions while only a minor portion remains today in the jungles. These have been in contact with the more civilized neighbours and may have borrowed and then later adopted their language. Anthropologists have not studied the dialects of these people except that of the Todas of the Nilgiri hills. Todas are a very atypical tribe and seem to be immigrants from some unknown land and today speak a Dravidian language similar to Tulu and Kannada.

The speakers of Kui, Gondi and Kurukh number some three millions and are numerically the largest primitive tribes of India. Their tradition connects them with the south and their speech forms have been accorded the rank of independent languages within the Dravidian family. Their history during the middle ages seems to be that of powerful tribes making their way northwards and establishing kingdoms in the forested region of the eastern Vindhyas. They came in contact with the Mundari-speaking people through whose area of occupation they drove a wedge leaving the Korkus, the western-most Mundari people, as a group isolated from the rest. They also drove the Mundas eastwards and northwards and live today as their neighbours. They seem to have borrowed the institution of the bachelors' dormitories from the Mundas. Some Uraons have also adopted the Mundari language and the account of S. C. ROY shows that they have borrowed some festivals also from them. Of the people speaking Kui, the Kondh are an eastern branch and the Koyas and Gonds the western branch. The Kondh live as neighbours of the Bondo, Gadaba and Saora, three tribes speaking Mundari languages.

These three tribes are the most advanced of the Dravidian-speaking tribes. They are organized into villages, with headmen and magician priests, practise cultivation, have well-organized markets and live materially and economically at about the same level as the Indian agriculturist. Probably they represent a Dravidian-speaking people who have been pushed northwards by the more civilized groups of Dravidians and who in their turn displaced the Mundari people of central and eastern India. Or, they may have been a pre-Dravidian people who lived for so long among the Dravidians that they adopted the Dravidian languages as their

own in the same way as the Bhils adopted Sanskrit speech. Even if we accept the latter alternative it leaves us in the dark about the original language of these primitives.

The third group of primitives comprise the speakers of the Austro-Asiatic languages. Besides speaking languages belonging to a common family they have certain institutions which most of the tribes possess. These are, as indicated above, the custom of setting monolithic monuments to the dead and bachelors' dormitories. They all have exogamous clans, well ordered villages and a system of markets or *hāṭs*. They are divided into aristocratic clans from whom headmen or rajas are appointed and have a class of priests, bards and magicians (called *Pahān*) who are held to be lower than the Munda. Some of these tribes are skilled cultivators of irrigated rice-fields. Very possibly they are people who brought rice-cultivation into India.

All the primitive tribes in India differentiate themselves sharply from the other population in many of their physical characteristics. Yet it cannot be said that they represent racially one group. The eastern primitives, i.e., the Mundari-speaking people are different from the western primitives in possessing larger heads. The central primitives, i.e., the Gonds form a sort of a transition group between the two. They are not as small-headed as the western primitives, nor as large-headed as the easterners. The westerners appear to be more Veddid.²

If we take into account the archaeological, linguistic and anthropological researches upto now we may put forward the following as a working hypothesis for the present. It seems that before the Aryans and Dravidians came into India, the land was occupied by primitive and semi-primitive tribes, some of whom (probably the more primitive elements) were hunters and gatherers akin to the Veddas, while others were hunters and cultivators of rice, living in jungle clearings and divided into small kingdoms. These people seem to have spread all over south-east Asia, i.e., South China, Indo-China, Burma, the Malay peninsula, the Nicobar islands, India and Ceylon. How far eastwards and southwards they spread in the island world of Indonesia and the Pacific we do not know. Linguists say that the Austro-Asiatic languages show traces of another language which they seem to have absorbed. Possibly that was the language spoken by such people as the Sakai and Semang (who today speak an Austro-Asiatic language) in the Malay peninsula, the Veddas in Ceylon and the western primitives of India. The Austro-Asiatic speaking people themselves were

overwhelmed in their turn by the people speaking Tibeto-Burman and Chinese languages in the north, by the Aryans in the west and by the Dravidians in the south.

In India the present primitive people thus are remnants of more numerous and better-knit social groups which have been forced apart, partly absorbed and partly driven into the forest regions by the later conquerors. Whether all these people can be grouped as one cultural entity or whether they were ethnically different elements not assimilated into one culture are questions which await investigation. In India agencies of cultural unification like a central political power, a central religious authority or unity of language have been always lacking. The political authority never dreamt of interfering in the regulative functions of the local and caste groups. The religious authority was not concerned in laying down rules of conduct and organizing a class of clergymen to enforce it. Whatever cultural unification has been reached has been achieved slowly by a free exchange and adoption of ideas and materials in an infinitely loosely knit and, in certain aspects, a very tolerant society. This is the picture of the cultural process of the post-Aryan period. We may be sure that the cultural unity of the pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian period was of an even looser texture and consisted in some general similarity of forms of social organization and perhaps of language. This supposition would further involve another and that is that the Dravidian-speaking people have always had their centre of characterization in the south and that they were not pushed southwards by the Aryans as many scholars believe.

The belief that the Dravidians once inhabited northern India is based on the following facts. In Baluchistan near the north-western frontier of Pakistan, a group of people speak a language called Brauhi. This language contains unmistakable elements of Dravidian languages overlaid by the modern dialect of the people. It is supposed that this linguistic island represents a remnant of people who once occupied the whole of India and who have been driven southwards by the Aryans. In the oldest Sanskrit literature one finds words which, according to some linguists, are of Dravidian origin. Both these are facts which need an explanation. The other data adduced for this theory are of a more speculative nature. There are scholars who find Dravidian analogies in the Mohenjodaro script, others point out the similarity between the conception of the god Shiva and the representation of a seated human figure on one of the Mohenjodaro seals and also

make the second assertion that Shiva is a Dravidian god. These latter speculations need not be considered here. The Dravidian words found in the Vedas are very few and also isolated. They represent borrowing but it might have been through some cultural intermediary and not directly from Dravidians themselves. The *Atharvaveda* contains words like *taimata* which are undoubtedly of Babylonian origin and may represent either direct contact or a borrowing through people who had some Babylonian cultural background. The existence of Brauhi so far north does represent a real problem. Recently a hypothesis was put forth that the Dravidians may have entered India via Baluchistan, lived in the lower Indus Valley and migrated thence either on foot or by sea to their present home in the south.³ This explains the existence of Brauhi and may also explain the existence of Dravidian words in Aryan songs, if they were the common cultural possession of the people of the middle east. This hypothesis is also not supported by any undisputed facts. It merely points out an alternative explanation of existing facts.

What is the need of such an alternative explanation? This need arises out of the complete absence of any reference to the Dravidians in the earliest literature of the Aryans. It has been said by western scholars that the Aryans had no historical sense and have left very defective records of their doings. The records may be defective for a historian who wants exact dates and names of kings, but they are very full as regards what the Aryans were doing. If one reads carefully the ritual, the philosophical and the epic literature, one is struck again and again by the number and variety of observations made therein. The early literature has given the names of people they met and sometimes also their descriptions. In none of these does the word Dravida occur, neither does the appellation "noseless" applied to the jungle people, suit the Dravidians. The word Dravida or Dramida occurs in the epic as applied to people of the south and a beautiful simile characterizes a custom which is even now found only in Dravidian India.⁴ The Dravidian people themselves, barring the kings who claim descent from the Sun and Moon dynasty of the north, have no traditions connecting them with the north. The glimpse we get of the Dravidian people in Sanskrit, Pali and in the earliest Tamil literature is that of a prosperous people settled firmly in the south, having a great culture, a sea-faring tradition with rich and busy harbours and powerful southern kingdoms from where they expanded in all directions. They penetrated into Ceylon and carried

the Indian Civilization beyond the Sea to Java, Sumatra, the Malay peninsula and beyond. There is not even a memory of a retreat before advancing foes. The picture is that of a vigorous expanding culture which does not agree with a tradition of continuous retreat of a thousand miles through the length of a whole sub-continent.

The mapping of the kinship organization, which we have done also seems to support the supposition that the Dravidians were advancing northwards, the Aryans southwards and, while the areas of their characterization remain the south and the north respectively, there is a central zone where culture contact and cultural accommodations have taken place leading to structural adaptations of the kinship organization. Prof. HAIMENDORF, basing his speculations on Sir R. WHEELER'S excavations in South India, had envisaged the possibility of the present Dravidians being the builders of the Megalithic tombs of South India. These are different in construction from the eastern Megaliths of the present day Mundas. Upto about 1949, these tombs were known only in the South. Recent excavation has not discovered any such tombs north of the river Krishna but pottery has been found which, in technique and in some of the types seems identical to the Megalithic pottery of the South. This has been found in sites which are dated ca. 1000 B.C. provisionally, in western and north-western India as far as Delhi. The northern pottery is much older than the southern tombs and so it seems that the Megalithic builders of the south borrowed it from some northern pre-Aryan people. This whole question about the extent of the Dravidians northwards is thus unsolved and more work in linguistics, anthropology and archaeology is needed before any definite conclusions can be reached.

We come now to our final question about the information which can be got about the non-Aryans and the non-Dravidian people in the Sanskritic and Dravidian literature and languages. I must plead again my ignorance of philology and also of the Dravidian languages for not being able to cast any light on this problem from that angle. Below I give a few references in the Sanskritic literature which may be of help to an investigator in this problem.

The people mentioned earliest in Sanskrit literature are called *Dāsa* or *Dasyu*, also written as *Dāśa* (pronounced *Dāsha*). These were the people with whom the Aryans fought. One of the early kings mentioned in the *R̥gveda* is called *Trasad-Dasyu* = one who harries the *Dasyu*. This name suggests that the hated *Dāsa* or

Dasyu were formidable enough for a king to take glory in putting them down. The word *Dāsa* or *Dāśa* occurs later in Mahabharata where a king of that tribe is mentioned. In the epic, as also in usage reminds one of the customs recorded under Couvade. The second queen of Santanu was the daughter of a *Dāśa* king. She is called *Kālī Satyavati*, i.e., the dark Satyavati. It is recorded that she plied a ferry on the Ganga while a maiden. The other word used for fisher-folk or ferrymen is *Kaivarta*. Though the name *Dāsa* is not found for any tribe or caste of north India today, the name *Kaivarta* (*Kevat*, *Keut*, or *Kaibrata*) is found applied to fisher castes in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa.

The other tribes mentioned are *Kirāta*, *Śabara* and *Niṣāda*. Sometimes these three words are used as synonyms. *Niṣāda* are also called *Bhilla*. These people are characterized as hunters, trappers and robbers living in forests. The name *Niṣāda* is not applied to any people today but the other three people are well known in present day India. About the *Niṣāda* a Sanskrit aphorism records a custom which is of great interest to anthropologists. While illustrating a situation where the usual expectation of cause and effect are reversed, two aphorisms are given. One is "The ascetic does the penance and the fool reaps the benefit". The other is "A *Niṣāda* woman gives birth to a son and *Niṣāda* man drinks the medicine". Usually in the Aryan society the woman in childbirth drinks medicines meant to restore the tone of the womb (generally some astringent called *kaṣāya* in the aphorism), but among the *Niṣāda* folk it is the man who has to take medicine. This usage reminds one of the customs recorded under Couvade. The *Niṣāda* are mentioned as living in forests and sometimes Brahmins married their women and made their home with them. A *Niṣāda Rāṣṭra* (nation of *Niṣāda*) and *Niṣāda Karṣu* are also mentioned. Where they exactly were cannot be determined, but they are to be located somewhere in the Vindhya forests. The *Kirāta* are mentioned as hunters and bowmen of the eastern Himalayan foothills. They are still found in the area. The *Śabara* are mentioned in both the epics. Rama is supposed to have met a *Śabara* woman in the Central Indian forests. There is a Mundari-speaking tribe called *Savarā* or *Saorā* which is found from south Bihar to south Orissa. This seems to be the same tribe as mentioned in the epics and in the earlier literature. The *Bhilla* are always associated with the *Vindhyāṭavi*, the forests of the Vindhyas where they ruled as hunters, ever ready to fall on the merchant caravans passing through their territory.

Last of all we come to a people who have been mentioned in Mahabharata and in earlier Sanskrit works too. These are the people called Nāga. The word Nāga has other meanings in Sanskrit. It means a serpent or an elephant and this has created some confusion about this word. In Mahabharata, the Nāga are mentioned also as *Sarpa*, the usual word for serpent. Sometimes they are described as serpents, creeping in the grass and biting and killing humans; at others they are described as human beings. Their record as human beings is very interesting and is as follows.⁶

The Nāgas were divided into fourteen ruling houses. The most westward was the house of Takshaka and the most eastwards was the house of Karkotaka. The Takshakas ruled in what is today the Punjab State and Delhi. Their daughter, one Jwala, was married to a Kuru king of Hastinapura. Takshaka was the friend of many Aryan kings but the Pandavas earned his enmity and the Mahabharata story, while depicting the dispute about inheritance among brothers, also describes a feud waged bitterly for three generations between the Takshaka Nāgas and the Pandavas. The latter were given a part of the kingdom which comprised of the dense forests on the banks of the Yamuna. Arjuna with the help of his brothers and Krishna burnt this forest down to clear the land for his new capital, the city of Indraprastha (modern Delhi). This forest belonged to Takshaka, who resisted Arjuna but was ultimately defeated and fled away with his life from the holocaust though many other Nāgas were burnt to death. Takshaka waited to take revenge. In the battle he could not do any harm to Arjuna but later he killed Arjuna's grandson, King Parikshita, and Parikshita's son King Janamejaya killed in revenge thousands of Nāgas as sacrificial victims in a great Nāga-sacrifice, until peace was restored by the sage Astika the son of a Brahmin and a Nāga-princess.

In the same epic Karkotaka Nāga is described as living in the forest of the eastern Vindhyan region which is even today the land where Mundas are found. The word Nāga is not found in the earliest Sanskrit records but there are many references to serpents and magic formulæ about serpent-bites. In one hymn in Atharva-veda⁷ two Sarpas are mentioned as Takshaka Vaishaleya (Takshaka, son of Vishala) and Dhṛtarashtra Airavata (Dhṛtarashtra, the son of Iravata). Takshaka and Airavata are both mentioned as ruling Naga families in the Mahabharata which also mentions a Dhṛtarashtra as the name of a Naga. A princess Ulupi of the family of Airavata Nāga had married Arjuna. We can, therefore,

take this early passage in Atharvaveda to refer to the people called the Nāgas in Mahabharata.

These Nāgas who lived in forests, who ruled from the Pūnjab to the forests of Chhota Nagpur, were not considered as inferior by the Aryans. They were forest dwellers, possibly cultivators of forest-clearings. The Aryans, with their cattle and horses and plough cultivation, cut the forests for securing open pastures and fields and land for their cities and so to the two people were locked in a struggle for existence. The Nāgas ultimately retreated and must have been absorbed in the agricultural economy of the Aryans. Have we any evidence to connect the Nāgas with the present day Mundari-speaking tribes? In the Pali literature a story is told about an event which occurred in the life-time of Buddha (7th century B.C.). This tells of a slave woman called Nāga-Muṇḍā possessed by the Sākya chief Mahānāma. Her daughter, though of inferior birth, was passed off as a true princess of the Sākyas and given in marriage to Pasenadi, the king of Kosala. King Vidudabha, the child of this marriage, killed the whole of the Sakya clan because of this deceit practised on his father. The Sakyas lived in north Bihar where even today Mundari-speaking tribes live. The name may mean either a girl of the Naga-Munda tribe, or a girl possessing a serpent ring. But the inferiority of birth makes it probable that she was of tribal origin.

Harivamsa Purana mentions a tribe of degraded warriors called Kola-sarpa or Koli-sarpa. We have already seen that Nāga and Sarpa are interchangeable terms. The word Kola is even now applied to the Munda tribes and their habitat is called Kolhan (the land of Kols). So the Kola-sarpa of *Harivamsa* seems to be identical to Nāga-Munda of the Pali tradition and it seems very probable that the Nāgas were a Mundari-speaking people.

The hymn quoted above and the one before it have two rather peculiar references. The hymns 10 to 14 of the 8th book of Atharvaveda refer to some magic of milking a primeval cow called Viraj. The hymn tells of the cow going to gods and men, etc., and what she gave to each. It mentions that she went to the 'Asura' who called her "come magic". They had an *iron pot* to milk her. Among the Mundari-speaking people there is a tribe called 'Asur' who, the legend says, were workers in iron.

The magic cow went to the Sarpas who, however, had a pot made from a gourd. Even now many wild tribes and many village people use dried gourd to make vessels. Thus it does seem probable that

the references in this hymn are to the Asurs and Sarpas who belonged to a Mundari-speaking people.

The Koḷa or Kolla are mentioned as degraded warriors. Among the Mundari-speaking people the words for men or male are Ho, Hor or Hāra and Koṛa and the tribes call themselves Ho and Koṛa-Ku. The Koṛa may have been written as Koḷa by the Sanskritic people. It will be remembered that castes comprising of fishermen, hunters and dwellers of the western hills calling themselves Koḷī are found all over Maharashtra and Gujarat. In Maharashtra there are over a hundred place names which have *koḷa* as its first syllable like Koḷ-gāon (the village of the Koḷ),⁸ etc. All the hill-forts of Maharashtra are associated with the Koḷī. Whether these people are the same as Koḷ or Ho of eastern India and Koraku of central India cannot be determined with the scanty evidence in hand, but if so then it appears that the Koḷ or the Munda spread once right upto the Arabian sea-coast of India and that the western branch lost its language and independence while the eastern branch kept both. In this connection Dr. H. D. SANKALIA has drawn my attention to the following references:

- (1) A place called "Muṇḍa-sthala" in south Rajasthan in an inscription of the 13th century (King Bhima II, 1231 A.D.).⁹
- (2) A town called Muṇḍaka in north Gujarat (King Bhima, I, 1031 A.D.).¹⁰
- (3) A country called Muṇḍa-Rāṣṭra, probably in the neighbourhood of the modern city of Nellore. The word *Muṇḍa-Rāṣṭra* is mentioned in a grant recorded on a copper plate of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa of the Pallava Dynasty, ca. 6th century A.D.¹¹

Does the old literature depict the social organization of these people? The references to the Dāsa, the Koḷa, the Niṣāda are rather scanty and nothing much can be gleaned from them. Reference has already been made to a couvade-like custom of the Niṣādas. There are also references to Brahmins who had married Niṣāda women and settled among the Niṣāda people. All the references to the sons of such marriages show that they were taken into the Brahmin fold if they managed to learn the Brahmin lore. The references to the Nāgas are slightly more explicit. A daughter of Takshaka called Jwālā had married a Kuru prince who was heir to the Hastinapura throne and the son of this marriage succeeded the father. This marriage seems to have been like the usual marriages of the patrilineal Aryans. There are, however,

other Nāga-Aryan marriages which show a different pattern. Arjuna married—or rather lived for a night—with princess Ulupi. The son of this marriage was born and brought up at his mother's house. He went to fight on his father's side in the war and died on the battle-field. The Brahmin Jaratkaru wanted to marry a woman without having the responsibility to feed and shelter her. He was married to the Nāga princess Jaratkaru and lived in her brother's house till the birth of a son and then went away. The son Astika was brought up by his mother's kin and helped to save her kinsmen from king Janamejaya. Ulupi's son succeeded to his grand-father's kingdom. Astika was not a successor to his mother's brother's kingdom, preferred to learn the Brahmin lore and became famous as a sage.

All the cases quoted above do not give a conclusive evidence as regards the customs of marriage and inheritance among the Nāgas but it seems probable that there might have been matrilineal practices among them especially as so many sons of the Nāga women were brought up in the mother's house. Within the Nāga kingdoms apparently the succession was from father to son and women had apparently greater freedom to choose their mates.

The epic evidence about the Nāgas does not show that they were thought to be inferior to the Aryans. They were both feared and hated. They were also thought to be endowed with magic powers. In Pali literature we have a reference in which a man wishing to become a Buddhist monk is asked various questions. One such is "Are you a Nāga" ?¹² If the answer is in the affirmative the man is not admitted into the fold. There are various interpretations given to the word Nāga which is supposed to mean a mythical being or a cruel man or a deceptive man. In view of what is said about the Nāga-Munḍā episode, Nāga may refer to the Nāga tribe also.

All this search into the past does not help us materially to understand the kinship organization of the Austro-Asiatic tribes of the present day. But it shows how long and how intimate the connection of these tribal people with the Aryans was. The tribal religion, social organization and folklore are affected by this contact. So is the language which is full of Sanskritic words as will be evident from the kinship terms given in Appendix 1.

The present extent of the Austro-Asiatic languages is said to be from the western Punjab to the Pacific coast and from the Himalayas to the Straits of Malacca. The number of people who speak the languages is comparatively small. The same relation of extent

in space and small numbers holds for the Indian speakers of these languages. From the foothills of the Himalayas in the north upto the Godavari forests in the south and from Assam in the east to the Satpura hills in west central India, the area covered is vast but they would hardly number more than about 4,500,000.¹³ One feels again that they are a scattered remnant of a people who could never have been very numerous and among whom wedges were driven by later agricultural and pastoral people.

All the people speaking Mundari languages have patrilineal and patrilocal families. S. C. Roy mentions that the northern people like the Ho and the Santhal have a peculiar condition for cross-cousin marriage. A man cannot marry his mother's brother's daughter as long as the mother's brother is alive, nor can he marry the father's sister's daughter as long as the father's sister is alive. This condition makes a cross-cousin marriage a very rare occurrence. ELWIN in his book on the Bondo mentions that the Bondo have no taboo against cross-cousin marriage, but he could not find a single example of such a marriage in the genealogies collected by him. With his usual partiality for claiming that mating among the primitives is from free choice, he explains the fact by saying that the lack of even a single example of cross-cousin marriage was due to the perfect freedom of choice which exists among the Bondo! I think it is due to the partial taboo recorded by ROY. My enquiries in the north also failed to reveal cross-cousin marriages.

The Ho and Munda have separate dormitories for bachelors and maidens and they indulge in pre-marital sexual relationships. Sometimes these relationships result in marriage but quite often the marriage mate is different from the mate of the dormitory days.

All these people are divided into exogamous totemistic clans. A person must marry outside of the clan and also outside of the circle of near relations like first cousins.

Money is given for procuring a bride. A man may serve in his future father-in-law's house for some years in lieu of payment of bride-price. After marriage a man rarely lives with his parents. He generally sets up a house of his own, though he may sometimes have a younger brother or a widowed mother with him. Thus though marriage is arranged by parents who help to pay the bride-price, the married couple start an independent family and the children are brought up in this single family. The Mundari people thus differ from the rest of India in not having the joint family.

This single family is, however, connected with the other families of the patri-clan by common worship of ancestors and sometimes by residence in one village. There is mutual help when needed but the man and wife have an independent life of their own and authority over their children.

The kinship terminologies for the Munda, the Santhal, the Bondo and the Khasi are given in Appendix 1. I cannot comment in detail on them for lack of knowledge of the languages except to say that many words are borrowed from the Sanskritic and the Dravidian languages.

With reference to the status of the married woman, it may be noted that in the Mundari language a married woman is addressed in the dual (you two), referred to in the dual (she, the two) and speaks of herself in the dual (we two) number. The married life for a woman is the life of two people and not that of a bride lost in the huge joint family of her husband.

The Khasi of Assam who speak an Austro-Asiatic language of the Monkhmer group are a matrilineal people. The differences between the Khasi and the Nayar (of Kerala) practices seem to be as follows: We have seen that the Nayars have a matrilineal joint family where the husbands of the women are occasional visitors only. Among the Khasis also there is a matrilineal joint family with common worship and a common graveyard for members of the family, but the husband and wife live together in a small house of their own. The husband lives for a time with the wife's people but after the birth of a child or two the married pair go to live in a separate house erected by the man. This house and the land belongs to the man if he has acquired them by his own labour. He can give them away to whom he wills, but on his death, if he dies without making a gift of it while living, all his property passes ordinarily to his mother. The widow may get a half if she does not marry again. If he has no mother then it goes to his youngest sister. If he has no female relatives on the mother's side it goes to his youngest daughter. Ordinarily his daughters would hold land in their mother's clan. No ancestral property is owned by a man.

The man lives with his mother-in-law for a time and in so doing his position is like that of a bride in the Hindu patri-family. The Hindu patri-family, tries to incorporate the bride as a member of the family but in a Khasi family the daughter's husband is always a stranger. When he starts a home of his own he owes certain things like labour in ancestral fields to his mother. On his death

the property reverts to *his* mother and his wife and children go back to the clan of the wife's mother. Thus the single family founded by a man is a transitory affair and is dissolved on the death of the man. The permanent unit is the joint matri-family, which is not, however, as closely knit as the usual joint family because every now and then daughters and their husbands establish independent homes.

The youngest daughter always gets the largest portion of the estate as she is the family priestess. In the houses of chieftains the succession is nepotic, that is, a son of the eldest sister of a ruler succeeds him. A widow or a divorced woman is not allowed to marry again in the husband's clan.

The woman enjoys a great amount of freedom. They always get the custody of the children in the case of a divorce and though the children's relations to the father are of respect and affection, all real attachment is to the mother. The system of establishing an independent household makes this the only region in India where husband, wife and children live as a closely knit group at least during the life-time of the man. Husband and wife both work to support the family and though the maternal uncle has certain rights of guardianship over the children, they are guided in their daily behaviour by their parents.

The Khasi have clans which trace their descent to some ancestress. A person must marry outside his clan. Marriages of parallel cousins are not allowed. Marriages of cross-cousins are also very rare. It appears that a man can marry his mother's brother's daughter after the death of the mother's brother but never during his life-time. The marriage of a man to his father's sister's daughter is rarer still and can take place, if at all, after the death of the father's sister.

The whole family system, i.e., the structure of the matrilineal family, the formation of an independent single family in each generation, the importance given to the youngest daughter, and the peculiar regulations for cross-cousin marriages which prevent the frequency of such an occurrence, is different from the systems of northern or southern India.

Assam, the easternmost part of India, is full of tribal people but only one is described here, just to show that in this region in the extreme north-east of India one finds matrilineal families as are found in the extreme south-west. What the relation of these regions could be, the author is unable to say. Matrilineal families are found among people speaking Tibeto-Burman as well as

Monkhmer languages. There is, as we have seen, incidence of the matrilineal family in the south of India among people speaking Tamil, Malyalam and Tulu languages. There are anthropologists who think that the whole of the Dravidian linguistic area represents a matrilineal complex. In the Pali literature from Ceylon there are references to nepotic succession. Ceylon was ruled by kings calling themselves Nāgas. Southern matrilineal families may be due to (1) pre-Dravidian institutions remaining as pockets in isolated spots; or (2) they may be due to Ceylonese and Malayan immigration, as many castes claim to have come to Kerala from somewhere south and as coconut culture is supposed to have been introduced by these castes; or (3) they may be original Dravidian institutions representing a time before the Dravidian people were influenced by the Sanskrit-speaking patrilineal people of the north.

The peculiarities to notice in this context are that among the Khasi and the Mundari-speaking people there is a partial taboo on cross-cousin marriage whereas in the south (the Dravidian region) it is the preferred type of marriage.

The kinship terms of the Khasis and of the Mundari people, when they do not use borrowed terms, do not conform to the pattern of the kinship terms of the Dravidian languages, i.e., they do not suggest the division of a group into moieties or do not point to the custom of exchange of daughters. Cross-cousin marriage is one type of such an exchange. Thus neither the terminology nor the custom of preferential mating of the two regions are alike. This does not mean that there can be no cultural connection between the two regions. It only shows that, as already pointed out, the interrelation of this third partner in Indian culture to the other two is difficult to define and needs very painstaking investigation before anything definite can be said about it.

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² *J. Anthrop. Soc. Bombay*, March 1954.

³ Prof. C. VON FURER HAIMENDORF—Indian Science Congress, Presidential Address, Section of Anthropology and Archaeology 1950; also by the same author "New Aspects of the Dravidian Problem" *Tamil Culture*, June, 1953.

⁴ *Mahabharata*, 3, 61, 67-98.

A forest tree in full blossom, with its top covered in long, trailing, wreath-like flowers is compared to the king of the Dravida, wearing wreaths of flowers on his head. In the north men do not wear flowers in their head. In the south they used to do so upto about a few years ago.

⁵ *Vājasaneyā Samhitā* of the Śukla Yajurveda.

⁶ It is not given at one place but is put together from various references in the Epic.

⁷ *Atharvaveda*, 8.14.14, 15.

⁸ The author has collected over 20,000 place-names of Maharashtra, which are being classified and analysed.

⁹ *Epigraphica Indica*, VIII, 221.

¹⁰ *JBBRAS*, Extra No. 49.

¹¹ *Ancient India*, Vol. V, p. 48.

¹² I am indebted to Prof. Dr. V. V. GOKHALE for this information.

¹³ *India 1963*, p. 19 (based on 1951 Census), Publications Division.

APPENDIX 1

KINSHIP TERMS FOR FOUR TRIBES

	MUNDARI	SANTHALI	BONDO	KHASI
1. Fa	.. Abā Apu, Bā, Abbā	Bābā, Apā, Bā, Bāpā		Kypā, Pa U Kthaw ?
2. Fa-Fa	.. Ajā, Tātā	Ba, Bāp, Bāpu Garham-hārham, Ajā, Budā, Buḍa-bābā		
3. Fa-Fa-Fa	.. Kuku, Baṛā	Dādā-hārham, Jae-dādā		
4. Mo-Fa	.. Nānā	Garham-hārham		U Kthaw ?
5. Mo-Fa-Fa	..	Dādā-hārham		
6. Fa-Br (a) elder	.. Kā, Kākā Kuku, Gungu, Baṛā	Kā, Kākā-khuṛā Huding-bābā, Goṅgo	Busān	
(b) younger	.. Kākā	Mārāng-bābā,	Kākā	
7. Mo-Br	.. Kumāng, Kumāing, Māmā	Māmu, Māmā, Māmām	Māmung	Kyn-ngi
8. Mo	.. Ayo, Engā	Aio, Aia, Ayo, Buḍhiā, Buḍhiāhoṛ, Gó, Engattet	Young	Ka Kymi, G'maw, 'bei, Kybei, Ka Mai KaKiaw
9. Mo-Mo	.. Jiāng, Nāni	Garh-ham-burhi, Buḍhiayo, Hērējiā		

	MUNDARI	SANTHALI	BONDO	KHASI
10. Mo-Fa-Mo	..			
11. Fa-Mo	.. Āji,	Garh-ham-burhi, Aji, Bongajiā		
12. Fa-Fa-Mo	..			
13. Fa-Si	.. Hātom, Phuphu	Hotóm, Bonger-hatom		
(a) elder	..	Mārāng-hātām, Nana	Muna Wāng	
(b) younger	..	Hurhíng-hātām	Dau Wāng	
14. Mo-Si	.. Māemusi, Gāring	Kāk-ki		
(a) elder	..		Busān Boi	
(b) younger	..		Umbuk Boi	
15. Br	.. Hāgā	Bhāi, Bhāyā		U Para, U Païu, Baiu
(a) elder	.. Boko, Bokoboyā,	Mārāng-dādā, Dada	Māng	Hymmin, U Para
(b) younger	.. Boko, Bokoboyā Unḍi, Unḍite	Bokon, Ja	Me	Hymbu, U Bo
16. Fa-Br-So	..			
(a) older than ego	..	Huding-dādā	Māng	
(b) younger than ego	..	Mārāng-dādā	Me	

17.	Fa-Si-So	..			Marenger	
	(a) older than ego	..		Hātam-dādā		
	(b) younger than ego	..		Hātam-bokon		
18.	Mo-Br-So	..			Marenger Ming	
	(a) older than ego	..		Māmu-dādā		
	(b) younger than ego	..		Māmu-bokon	Kui	
19.	Mo-Si-So	..				
	(a) older than ego	..		Mamāsi, Mamāsi-boehako Dādā	Māng	
	(b) younger than ego	..		Bokon	Me	
20.	Si	..	Misi	Misera		Ka Para, Ka Paiu, Ka baiu
	(a) elder	..	Aji, Dāi, Nānā	Dayai, Dai, Swasin, Aji	Ming	Hymmin
	(b) younger	..	Boko, Boko boyā, Buṭuni	Mayai	Kun Unkoi	Hymbu
21.	Fa-Br-Da	..			Ming	
	(a) older than ego	..				
	(b) younger than ego	..				

	MUNDARI	SANTHALI	BONDO	KHASI
22.	Fa-Si-Da (a) older than ego (b) younger than ego		Ming Kui unkoī	
23.	Mo-Br-Da (a) older than ego (b) younger than ego			
24.	Mo-Si-Da (a) older than ego (b) younger than ego	Mamāsi, Mamāsi-boehako		Ming Kui
25.	So	Hon-te-koṛā	On	U Khun, Khom Korang, U Hun
26.	Br-So (Man- speaking)	Hāgā-hon Hon-seṛed		
27.	Br-So (Woman- speaking)		On, Busaon	
28.	Si-So (Man- speaking)	Bhāginā, Geṛ-chon		
		Bhāgnā		

29.	Si-So (Woman-speaking)	..	Bhāginā, Geṛ-chon	Bhāgnā	
30.	So-So	..		Guruhum korā	
31.	So-So-So	..			
32.	Da-So	..		Bokon	
33.	Da-So-So	..	Jāin koṛā		
34.	Da	..	Hon-kuṛi	Marang-mai, Hāpon-mai, Beti, Hōpōnera	On Ka Khun, •Khon'raw-k-māw, Ka-Hun
35.	Br-Da (Man-speaking)	..		Marang-mai, Hāpon-mai	On, Busaon
	(a) elder than wife	..	Āji-hānār	Aj-nāring, Ajhnar	
	(b) younger than wife	..	Tenja	Eruling-kuri	
36.	Br-Da (Woman-speaking)	..			
37.	Si-Da (Man-speaking)	..	Geṛe-kuṛi-hon		
38.	Si-Da (Woman-speaking)	..	Geṛe-kuṛi-hon	Bhāgni	
39.	Da-Da	..		Gar-ham kuri	
40.	Da-Da-Da	..			
41.	So-Da	..		Gar-ham kuri	
42.	So-So-Da	..			

	MUNDARI	SANTHALI	BONDO	KHASI
43.	Fa-Si-Hu	.. Phupā	Kumāng, Kumā	Māmung
44.	Hu-Fa	.. Honjār	Hnojhari-hārāng, Nij bala herel, Hōñhar	Unkui
45.	Wi-Fa	.. Honjār	Hnojhari-hārāng, Nij bala herel, Hōñhar	Unkui
46.	Mo-Si-Hu	..	Huding-bābā	Basān, Kakkā
47.	Mo-Br-Wi	.. Māmi, Hātom	Mārāng-tātum, Huring-hātum, Māmi	Wāng
48.	Fa-Br-Wi	.. Kāki, Kākiengā	Mārāng-eyeo, Huring-eyeo, Kaki, Kākitet,	Busān Boi, Umbuk Boi
49.	Hu-Mo	.. Hānār	Hānāring	Kiyar
50.	Wi-Mo	.. Hānār	Hānāring, Hanhar	Kiyar
51.	Hu	.. Herel, Kora (male), Purus	Hērēl, Purus	Umpor
52.	Hu-Br	..		U Tynga
	(a) elder than husband	.. Bāu-honjār, Bāu-hāsūr	Bābā, Bahonhar	
	(b) younger than husband	.. Deor, Irilkorā	Eruling-korā	

53.	Wi-Br	..	Tenjangkoṛā, Sālā, Sārā	Saṅgat, Tēña,	
	(a) elder than wife	..	Bāu-honjār, Bāu-hāsur, Jeṭ sārā	Honyāring, Marānicgō, Ba honhar	
	(b) younger than wife	..	Sārā	Eruling korā	
54.	Si-Hu	..	Ārā	Saṅgat, Tēña,	
	(a) elder sister's husband	..	Tenjang, Bhāṭu	Teyang	Umhang
	(b) younger sister's husband	..	Ārā	Bakon	Ārju
55.	Hu-Si-Hu			Bābā, Bālev	
56.	Wi-Si-Hu		Sādhū, Sārhu, Sārgiā	Surh-bhai, Saḍge, Saḍgea, Sāḍhu, Sārhu	
57.	So-Wi-Fa		Balam, Samdhi	Sumundi, Sāmdhi, Bala	
58.	Da-Hu-Fa		Samdhi	Sumundi, Sāmdhi, Bala	
59.	Wi		Kuṛi (female), Oṛāgomke, Oṛāhoṛo, Buri	Bahu, Era, Erat, Erauru, Ghirni, Gōmkē, Oṛakgomket, Rinic, Rinictet, Bonga	Kunoi, Konoī Katynga, Konthaw, Ka Shkāw, Ka Khynang

	MUNDARI	SANTHALI	BONDO	KHASI
60.	Hu-Si			
	(a) elder than husband ..	Āj-nāring, Ajhnar		
	(b) younger than husband ..	Eruling-kuri		
61.	Wi-Si			
	(a) older than wife ..	Āj-nāring, Ajhnar		
	(b) younger than wife ..	Eruling-Kuri		
62.	Br-Wi			
	(a) elder brother's wife ..	Natat-era Hili, Hilia,	Imbing	
	(b) younger brother's wife ..	Hili-hāli Bahu	Kimi-on	
63.	Hu-Br-Wi			
	(a) husband's elder brother's wife ..	Dayai		
	(b) husband's younger brother's wife ..	Mayai		
64.	Wi-Br-Wi	Dayai		

65.	So-Wi-Mo	..	Samdhin	Bālāng-kuri	Arj'u
66.	Da-Hu-Mo	..	Samdhin	Bālāng-kuri	
67.	Da-Hu	..	Ārā, Ārā-hon, Ārā-ing	Jāwāegō, Jāwāegōmket	
68.	Hu-Br-So	..		Huding-thāio	
69.	Hu-Si-So	..		Bhāgnā	
70.	Wi-Br-So	..		Kumāng-korā	
71.	Wi-Si-So	..		Gidrā	
72.	So-Wi	..	Honā-kimin, Kimin	Huding-bahu, Mārāng-bahu, Kimin, Bo, Kimi-on, Bobiti, Kimintet	
73.	Hu-Br-Da	..		Mayai	
74.	Hu-Si-Da	..		Bhāgnā-kuri	
75.	Wi-Br-Da	..		Kumāng-kuri	
76.	Wi-Si-Da	..		Māi-yé	
77.	Father's wife other than ego's mother	..		Kāki-eŋgat	
78.	Mother's husband other than ego's father	..		Kaka-baba	
79.	Co-wife	..		Hirom	

CHAPTER VIII

OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY, SUCCESSION AND INHERITANCE*

(A)

1. Ownership of property is a very extensive subject. It is not the intention of the author to deal exhaustively with this subject. In this chapter practices about succession and inheritance are discussed in their relation to kinship organization. Certain fundamental ideas about property and ownership have always formed part of such discussions among older authors and so ideas about property and ownership have come into the discussion in this chapter also.

2. Succession and inheritance are closely connected. The Indian law-books like Smṛtis and their commentaries deal primarily with inheritance and division of property, but in literature other than the above there are references both to succession and inheritance. In the analysis below the terms are used almost synonymously but the context makes it quite clear whether succession or inheritance is meant. Succession and inheritance coincide in the cases of males in the north but there are exceptions and in the matrilineal south-west they are separate as we shall see below.

3. In previous pages zones of different kinship systems were described. In this chapter practices of succession and inheritance for some of the regional types have been described. The main regions which are referred to below are : (1) the northern and (2) the matrilineal south-western. There is a vast literature for the northern region which the author could read and choose from. Matrilineal Kerala in many ways presents a contrast to the northern region. While the British law-givers tried to fix their theory

* The author begs indulgence for the fact that a number of points which have been discussed in the other parts of the book are repeated here again. This chapter was written independently and then incorporated into the new edition of the book. It was left as it was because it was thought that though some matter is repeated, it helps in the understanding of the theme of the present chapter.

and practices by referring to the literature of the north, there was no such guide for Kerala. The theory and procedure were fixed by an analysis of the then existing practices. The author has relied on these and on personal inquiries and genealogies collected during field trips.

In the south there are many sub-areas where kinship practices differ. In Andhra, Tamilnad and Karnatak three types of marriages not known to the far north prevail. A man can marry his father's sister's daughter, or his mother's brother's daughter, or his elder sister's daughter. Residence is virilocal. Succession and inheritance are in the male line. The law of succession and inheritance which applied to this part was presumably the law of Mitakshara which, as we shall see, is almost entirely northern in its spirit. Tamil, Telugu and Kannada have a large literature and epigraphical material. The Tamil literature especially dates back to the beginning of the Christian era. It is necessary to study this source to find out whether this region had a different inheritance pattern and, if so, whether one can trace the change.

Tamil history connects up with early Ceylonese Chronicles written in Pali (a northern derivative from Sanskrit). The Ceylonese Chronicles and present practices show a kinship terminology and marriage pattern similar to that of Tamilnad. The succession was always through the male line. The author confesses with great regret that the literary material of Tamilnad and Ceylon could not be used by her.

The practices of patrilineal polyandrous people of the south (Todas of Nilgiri, Asari of Travancore etc.) have also not been described. They should provide very interesting comparative material. The same applies also to the primitive tribes.

(B)

THE NORTHERN PRACTICES — MITAKSHARA AND DAYABHAGA

1. *Four Principles Regulating Life.*

Commentators have referred to these principles and so they are explained here. According to the Smṛtis four principles governed the life of a man. They were: (1) Dharma, (2) Vyavahara, (3) Charitra, and (4) Raja-shasana. Dharma was the moral law, the rules of equity, justice and good conscience. Dharma was also the religious principle in the narrow sense comprising all positive injunctions and taboos, rites and rituals. This part of Dharma

was called *samskāra*. Vyavahara was secular conduct and contained all civil and criminal law, Charitra referred to custom and established folkways and Raja-shasana were the king's edicts. The more immediate and institutionalized the source of the principle the more it was followed and the greater was its authority. Kings' edicts took precedence over Charitra, Charitra over Vyavahara and Vyavahara over Dharma. Inheritance, called "the division of property" was, according to the Smṛtis, Vyavahara and the author of Mitakshara contended that it be dealt with purely from a secular point of view and be applicable even to those who did not follow *samskāras*; while the author of Dayabhaga gave preference to the *samskāras*. The position of the two authors and its consequences will be discussed later. It may be remarked here that the 'secular' was inextricably bound with the 'sacred' and that neither of the two authors stuck exclusively to his own principles.

2 *The Family Type Within Which Inheritance Was Discussed.*

In both the books referred to above the family in which inheritance was discussed was the patrilineal, patrilocal, virilocal joint family and though the authors advocated different points of view in certain very important aspects the overall scheme of inheritance was the same in both.

3. *A Short Account of Mitakshara, Dayabhaga etc.*

From the 10th century onward great commentaries on the ancient Sutra and Smṛti literature were being written. The work of all commentators is not extant. Many are only known by names as their opinions were quoted by later people. This activity resulted in establishing certain well marked schools of thought in all fields of knowledge. It also resulted in regional preferences for certain trends of thought. As regards Vyavahara, these commentaries interpreted ancient Smṛti works and refuted or supported the views of other commentators. The two men whose interpretations have determined the practice as regards inheritance and the rights to property of different members of the Hindu joint family were Vijnaneshwar from Andhra and Jeemutavahana from Bengal. The Hindu law administered by the British was based on the works of these two authors and their commentators and followers. It is necessary to understand these practices in order to understand the conceptions of the joint family and also to gauge the changes which the recent Hindu Code, passed since independence, has introduced in the old structure. The actual cases tried

during the British rule will be found in MAYNE's *Hindu Law* and KANE's *History of Dharmashastra*, both of which books have been extensively used in the following pages.

Vijnaneshwara was a *sanyāsin* (ascetic) who lived in the region of the Chalukya king Vikramaditya of Kalyani in Andhra, who ruled during A.D. 1070—A.D. 1126. Vijnaneshwar wrote a commentary on the Yajñavalkya Smṛti.

This commentary is called Mitakshara — “measured words”. The time of the Yajñavalkya Smṛti cannot be determined. According to legend, Yajñavalkya apparently lived at the time of the Mahabharata episode. He quarrelled with his teacher Vaishampayana, left Hastinapura, the capital of the Kurus in north-west India (near Delhi) and settled in north-eastern India at the court of King Janaka of Mithila (border of Nepal and Bihar). He was known as a great philosopher and there exist some philosophical dialogues supposed to have taken place between him and one of his two wives. He is also supposed to be the founder of the Shukla Yajurveda. His Smṛti, though not the oldest, is considered to be one of the older ones among the Smṛti books and has great prestige. As in all Smṛtis there is a section on inheritance. Mitakshara has interpreted this Smṛti, but also quotes other Smṛtis as his authority and has some matter which is quite new.

Jeemutavahana wrote on inheritance only. He lived in Bengal. His time is probably 1090-1130. (KANE, Vol. I, pp. 325-332). He asserts that his authority is Manu. He also quoted other Smṛtis. His book called Dayabhaga (“division of inherited property”) has been an authority in Bengal and Eastern Bihar. Mitakshara has been an authority for almost the whole of the rest of India (barring the matrilineal south-west — Kerala). There are certain minor regional deviations in the use of these authorities which need not concern us here.

4. *The Main Type of Property Discussed by the Two Commentators.*

In the Smṛtis different types of property are mentioned. Property (a) earned by oneself by conquest and as gifts for learning (land, cows or/and cash) and (b) ancestral property. This property was owned by men. Women under certain circumstances had a life-interest in landed property but ordinarily did not own property. Property like clothes, jewels, gifts given at the time of marriage was supposed to be owned by a woman and to pass to her daughter. Whatever gift was given by a man to his wife was sup-

posed to be her property* but the right of giving in gift seems to have been restricted as regards ancestral property. The discussion centres principally round the ancestral property.

5. *What is Ownership?*

The question of ownership is based on two different principles by the two authors. Ownership in this context refers to a share in the joint family.

(a) Jeemutavahana enunciates a principle called *Upama-svatva-vāda*. *Upama* means death, *svatva* is ownership, *vāda* is principle. The whole expression means the "principle of ownership by death". It means that the right to ancestral property accrues only after the death of the person who is in possession of it. Jeemutavahana also says that a man can, during his life-time, give away his property.

(b) As against this stand Vijnaneshwar held that there were two different kinds of property. A man could give away to whom he willed his self-earned property while in the case of ancestral property the principle of *janma-svatva-vāda* held. *Janma* means birth and the whole expression means "the principle of ownership by birth".

6. *The Consequences of the Two Principles.*

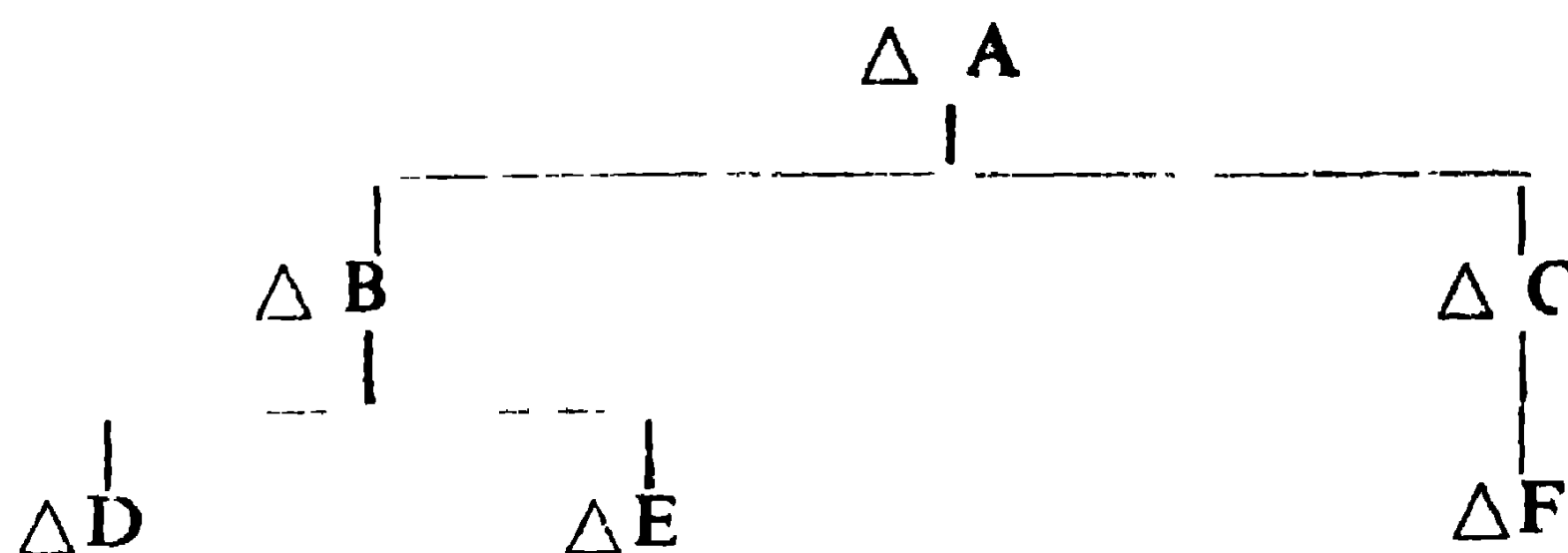
Jeemutavahana's principle, "ownership by death", had the following implications: (1) a man had absolute, unconditional ownership of whatever he owned, (2) he could give the property to whom he chose — he could spend it as he liked, (3) all property, self-earned and ancestral, was of the same kind as far as rights of ownership and inheritance were concerned, and (4) the proper time of division of property was at the death of the owner.

Jeemutavahana in very vigorous language has made clear these points and defended them. Vijnaneshwar is equally clear in his position, the consequences of which were as follows: (1) A man had absolute ownership of self-earned property but he was only a

* During the British times this right of the women to own property was used by men to circumvent law. Many financiers and commercial magnates who had lost money on the stock exchange and had to satisfy a large number of creditors were (and are) in the habit of buying jewellery for the wife and then applying for insolvency. The author knows of a case in which a clerk embezzled some money and was brought to trial. Though the charge was proved and the man was sent to prison, the money could not be recovered. He had invested the money in buying jewellery for his wife and the wife claimed it as jewellery given to her in marriage.

part-owner of his ancestral property. His rights of disposal of the latter were very restricted. (2) Only the self-acquired property could be gifted away or spent by a man. (3) Ancestral property was held in common by a man and his descendants — they were co-sharers and co-holders of the property. (4) The proper time for the division of property was any time the co-sharers in the property wished to effect a partition.

The way in which Jeemutavahana's principle was commented on by his later followers and by the Calcutta and Patna courts of justice with the help of Pundits during the British times worked out as follows. If a man having two sons died, his sons could divide the estate equally. Once the partition was made the holder remained the sole and absolute owner of the property during his life-time and nobody could demand partition. This mode of inheritance is illustrated below:



After the death of A, B and C could divide the property, each getting half share.

The rule of partition as laid down by Vijnaneshwar works in such a way that any member of a joint family could demand partition. A person had a right in the joint property from the moment of conception. In the genealogy given above if all the people were living, any one could demand partition or prevent A from spending ancestral property to the detriment of the share of other members. Supposing a partition had occurred and a brother was born to say F within nine months of the partition he would have to get his share.

It is said by the Indian jurists that in a Dayabhaga-family the amount of property owned by anyone is always known correctly. For example, in the above genealogy property is owned 100 per cent by A. After A's death B and C have half share each. If a son is born posthumously he gets his share because the death of the father (and not just the fact of his own birth) had established his right. As regards the Mitakshara-family, the death of a person increases the shares of some, a new birth decreases them and in a big family one never knows how many children would be on their

way. Each one had a share however and, as litigation shows, traders were always willing to lend money to younger members of a joint family owning large estates in the hope of getting paid some day. Sale of landed property was a very complicated business because the seller had to show that such a sale was necessary for the holding together of a joint family, or that a daughter of the house was getting married and cash was needed. The buyer had to make sure that the reasons for sale would stand in case of future litigation by minor children. There were also many cases in which a son had sued the father for the partition of the ancestral property. Also a number of cases came before the law courts about what constituted self-earned property. Men getting University degrees or education abroad got good government posts and wanted it declared that what they earned in pay was self-earned property, while the family contended that as the money for education was provided by the family, the fruit of the education also belonged to the family.

7. *The Principles of Division.*

The way in which property was divided was very simple in the Dayabhaga scheme. Each time a man died intestate the property held by him was divided equally among his sons. If he was holding property in common with the brothers then the property (a share equal to his own) of the brothers would be first set aside and his share would be divided between the sons. In the above example, on the death of A the property would be equally divided between B and C each getting half. If they remained together and then B died, B's sons would get equal shares in the half which was B's share, while the other half would be retained by C as his share. In the Mitakshara family the division of property was the same as in Dayabhaga, i.e., equal shares for the sons of a man. If the property was divided between fathers and sons and grandsons during the life-time of these all, the division would be as follows: In the above example, the father A would have a share equal to the two sons, i.e., one-third each. B and B's two children D and E would again divide B's share into three equal parts, i.e., B, D and E would get one-ninth share each. C would divide equally with his only son F so that each would get one-sixth. The division would be A one-third; B, D and E one-ninth each; C and F one-sixth each.

Another consequence of the doctrine of "ownership through birth" championed by Vijnaneshwar was that inheritable property

was further classified as "unobstructed inheritance" (*apratibandha dāya*) and "obstructed inheritance" (*sapratibandha dāya*). A man's share in his father's property was unobstructed. It was his whenever he demanded it. His share in the property of his more distant relatives was obstructed. Suppose a man had an uncle (father's brother) who was without a son, the man could not claim a share before his uncle died without issue. The uncle might get a child or adopt one. The 'living' uncle was what obstructed the right to property. Such distinction was not necessary in the Dayabhaga rules, as we have seen. The Dayabhaga principles of inheritance applied to Bengal and Bihar, while the Mitakshara principles applied to the whole of the rest of India. The structural principle of the joint family in these two regions would be entirely different. In Bengal and Bihar a family was joint because men (with their wives and children) related agnatically shared a roof, ate food cooked in one kitchen and joined in familial ritual. The property might be held jointly if it was a fraternal joint family, but if it was a family made up of a man and his sons and grandsons, all property was held solely and absolutely by the man. During his life none of his descendants had any right in it. This might have led to an absolute rule of the father. (Could it be that the exaggerated reverence shown to the father as depicted in Bengali literature and almost institutionalized was due to the fact that the father held all the property?)

In the Mitakshara region on the other hand a family was also joint because property was held jointly by all the male members.

It would be interesting to study actual family chronicles in both the regions and also to find out how father-son and man-daughter-in-law (daughter-in-law as instrumental in getting the son separated from the father) relationships are depicted in literature.

8. *Who Had the Right to Inherit ?*

Though there was no difference as regards the list of immediate successors enumerated by the two authors, the right to inherit was based on two different principles by the two authors.

Jeemutavahana said that the property of a dead person went to him who brought the greatest spiritual benefit to that person. A dead person got spiritual benefit when he was offered *piṇḍa* (the food-ball) on certain days prescribed by the Hindu ritual.*

* As KANE (Vol. III, pp. 740-50) sums it up, (1) (a) "Spiritual benefit is conferred on a man by presenting *piṇḍa* directly to him or by offering *piṇḍa* to one or more of his paternal ancestors to whom

Offering of food to the dead ancestors was one of the most ancient rituals of the Vedic Aryans. It was a compulsory duty for a man and the ritual is described in all Gṛhya Sūtras. Food

he would have offered *piṇḍa* or with whom he participates *piṇḍa* after his death, (b) or by offering *piṇḍa* to his maternal ancestors to whom he would have offered *piṇḍa* but in which he could never share after his death because of (1a)". The son, son's son and son's son's son, wife, daughter and her son are therefore the first series of heirs. The *piṇḍa* offered to a man is of greater efficacy than to his ancestors; hence the first series; that offered to his paternal ancestors brings greater merit than the one offered to his maternal ancestors. Because of this one's own father (7) comes as an heir, the mother (8) is named next because she can give *piṇḍa* to one's own father. After the parents come the brother (9), his son (10) or his son's son (11) because they offer *piṇḍas* to the same paternal ancestors as oneself. After these comes the sister's son (12) because he offers *piṇḍa* to his mother's father who is one's own father. Failing these, inheritance goes to grandfather (13) and grandmother (14). Failing these, it descends to the uncle and his son and son's son, and then to the aunt's son, then goes up again to the paternal grandfather and mother and descends to grand-uncle, his son, son's son, and to great aunt's son. If there are none of these relatives, it goes to mother's brother and his children etc., in the same way as in the father's line.

The mother's line comes after the father's line because the *piṇḍas* offered to one's paternal line are supposed to be more meritorious than to those offered to mother's ancestors. Some women's (in the patrilineage) sons come before the relatives connected by male lines only because, just like a daughter's son, these offer *piṇḍas* to their mother's ancestors who are one's own paternal ancestors. The daughter's descendant in each generation comes only after the son's descendants in each line are exhausted. After one's own male descendants and widow are exhausted, the succession goes to the daughter and then up to parents and in their absence descends to the brothers and sisters. This same order is kept up all through until all the heirs on the father's side are exhausted. (The Dayabhaga scheme is given in the table). Then comes the maternal side, — mother's brother being the first on that side.

There are some discrepancies in the Dayabhaga scheme. The position of the paternal grandfather and grandmother before uncles cannot be justified on the doctrine of *piṇḍa* efficacy alone, but, on the whole, the scheme is logical.

The one objection felt against it rests on the sentiments of patrilineity. The relatives who are connected by common male ancestors are agnates and are supposed to belong to one *gotra* and make one patrilineage. A daughter, a sister, an aunt are one's agnatic relations, but once they are married, they cross into different *gotras* and their children belong to different patrilineages. All such relatives by marriage are together called *bandhus*. In the scheme of Dayabhaga such *bandhus* are mixed with agnates as heirs. The Mitakshara school gives preference to the daughter and her son though the latter is a *bandhu*, but otherwise says that the agnates come before affinal relations or *bandhus* and that succession to the *bandhus* goes only after all agnates (barring daughter's son) are exhausted.

called *pinḍa* was offered by a man to his father, grandfather, great-grandfather and their wives. A minute portion (what remained sticking to the hand, *lepa* — in the action of making a ball — is then offered to the great-grandfather and two further ancestors. Merely water is given to further three ancestors. Apparently, at some later date it was permitted to offer *pinḍa* to one man by name. This was called *ekoddiṣṭa* offering.

Those who gave and received a *pinḍa* were called *sapinḍya*. It has been pointed out earlier in this book that it seems as if offering of the *pinḍa* was formerly in the main patri-line but at some date a man could give *pinḍa* to his mother's father, grandfather and great-grandfather. By the *ekoddiṣṭa* a childless widow could also give *pinḍa* to her husband, so could a daughter to her father and a pupil to his guru.

Jeemutavahana said that those who had the duty to give *pinḍa* had the right to inherit. The widow of a man dying without an heir could inherit if she offered *pinḍa*.

We have seen before that sonship had a biological, a familial, a legal and a religious aspect. Sonship was established because he was conceived through one's seed. A son had a kinship status in the family. A son was a male child of one's wife, a concubine or a slave even when he was not conceived by one's seed. This claim was laid because the wife, or concubine or slave were one's property. A son was any boy taken in adoption. Lastly, once sonship was established he had to perform the *śrāddha*, i.e., the giving

In consonance with this position, according to the Mitakshara school, the succession goes to parents, after the father, the brothers and their sons, then to the grand-parents, then to uncles and their sons, then the great grand-parents, then the grand-uncles and their sons, and after these the mother's side. Mitakshara recognizes the father's wife, the grandfather's wife and great grandfather's wife as heirs belonging to the same *gotra* but does not extend this recognition to brothers' wives or uncles' wives. The Mitakshara school recognizes distant relatives in the male line, upto 14 degrees removed from the deceased, i.e., the receivers and givers of *pinḍa* and *lepa*. Seven generations are the nearest (three above and three below), fourteen form a unity of not so near relations. Vijnaneshwar goes beyond to include twenty-one generations who thus form the widest agnatic circle. Failing all these, inheritance can go in the mother's line. We see here that the doctrine of *sapinḍya* as people sharing common body particles and granting *sapinḍyaship* to wives because they help generate a common *pinḍa*, is completely forgotten in this scheme which places all males sharing a common paternal descent as nearer to each other than to anybody sharing descent through the mother's line.

of *piṇḍa*. Jeemutavahana emphasizes this last aspect and ignores others. His contention was based on ancient practices and is borne out by the fact that all Smṛtis enjoin that when a man died without heir and his estate went to the king, the king had to perform *śrāddha* to the dead man, i.e., he performed the duties of a son. This regulation also makes clear that the king had no right in any land because he ruled it.** He, like other citizens, possessed own lands.

This point of view was apparently advocated by others before Jeemutavahana, because Vijnaneshwar who came before Jeemutavahana took a position consciously against such a point of view. He said that the matter of division of property (*dāya*) was not a religious transaction involving certain *samskāras*. Even those who had no *samskāras* had property to divide. This was a purely secular matter falling within what is termed Vyavahara. The right to property could not rest on the duty of *śrāddha* but rested on consanguinity. He used the age-old word *sapiṇḍya* and gave it a novel interpretation, *sapiṇḍa* were those who shared common body particles. On this definition the right of the son, the grandson etc., was established as immediate successors to property. This definition of *sapiṇḍya* did not make clear why an own brother with whom one shared body-particles should come later than the son or grandson, i.e., the descendants. On Jeemutavahana's principle it is understandable as the son and son's son brought the largest spiritual benefit as givers of *piṇḍa*.

Vijnaneshwar performed another feat of logical irrelevance in that he declared that those who together brought a person to life were *sapiṇḍya* as they were creators of one *piṇḍa*. The word *piṇḍa* here has the connotation 'individual' which one finds in late classical Sanskrit.¹ By this definition he made the wife a *sapiṇḍya* of the husband; the wives of different brothers *sapiṇḍya* of their husbands, husband's brothers and husband's brother's wives. These queer gymnastics were performed in order to justify the right of a widow in the property in case a man died without heirs.

The argument of Mitakshara runs as follows.

** This conception of ownership of land continued right up to Muslim times after which it was changed in those parts of India where Muslims ruled. There is a saying in Urdu, "Creation belongs to God and the land belongs to the Badshah, the King" (*khalak Khudāka, muluk Bādshāhākā*), which establishes the right of a king over the land he governed. Under this conception the land is held by the subjects in tenancy during the pleasure of the king. This is a conception entirely unknown to the Hindu period.

The author quoted Garbhopeniṣad which says, "the human body is made up of six *koṣas* (covering layers). Three of these are given to an embryo by its mother and three by the father".

These are the *śarīrāvayava*. (*śarīra* = body, *avayava* = parts) which are referred to by Vijñāneshvara below.

(a) *Sāpiṇḍyam nāma ekaḥ piṇḍaḥ dehārambhakaḥ yasyā yasya vā sā sapiṇḍā sa sapiṇḍaḥ tasya bhāvaḥ*. Here the definition of *sāpiṇḍya* is traditional. The meaning of the word *piṇḍa* is given as *deha*, i.e., body. In literal translation the above is: he or she originating from one body are *sapiṇḍya*. *Sāpiṇḍya* is the state of being *sapiṇḍa*.

(b) *Ekaśarīra—avayava—anvayena sāpiṇḍyam*. (*śarīra* — body, *avayava* = part. This word is translated by KANE, GHARPURE, etc. as "particle".)

Translation : *Sāpiṇḍya* is connection through descent with parts of one body. *Anvaya* means that which follows. It is used for descendents and also for a patri-line.²

(c) *Patipatnyostu ekaśarīre ubhayārabdhe svāvayava-anvaya-tvāt*. This is a new interpretation of *sāpiṇḍya*.

Translation : (*Sāpiṇḍya*) is also established in the case of man and wife because their bodies had originated a new common body.

In the traditional definition given above, *sāpiṇḍya* can be translated by the word "consanguinity". This new definition extends the idea so as to include relatives by marriage. The false logical argument underlying this definition and the one following is as follows :

A is blood relation of B;
C is blood relation of B;
therefore, A is blood relation of C.

(d) *Evam bhrātrbhāryānamapi parasparam ekaśarīra-ārabdhaiḥ saha ekaśarīra-ārambhakatvena*.

Translation : (*Sāpiṇḍya*) is also established of the wives of brothers as they, in company with those who have sprung from one body (brothers), give rise to one body.

The argument is as follows :

A is *sapiṇḍa* of his wife a

B is *sapiṇḍa* of his wife b — definition (c) above.

A is *sapiṇḍa* of his brother *B* — definition (b) above.

Therefore, *a* is *sapinda* of *b*.

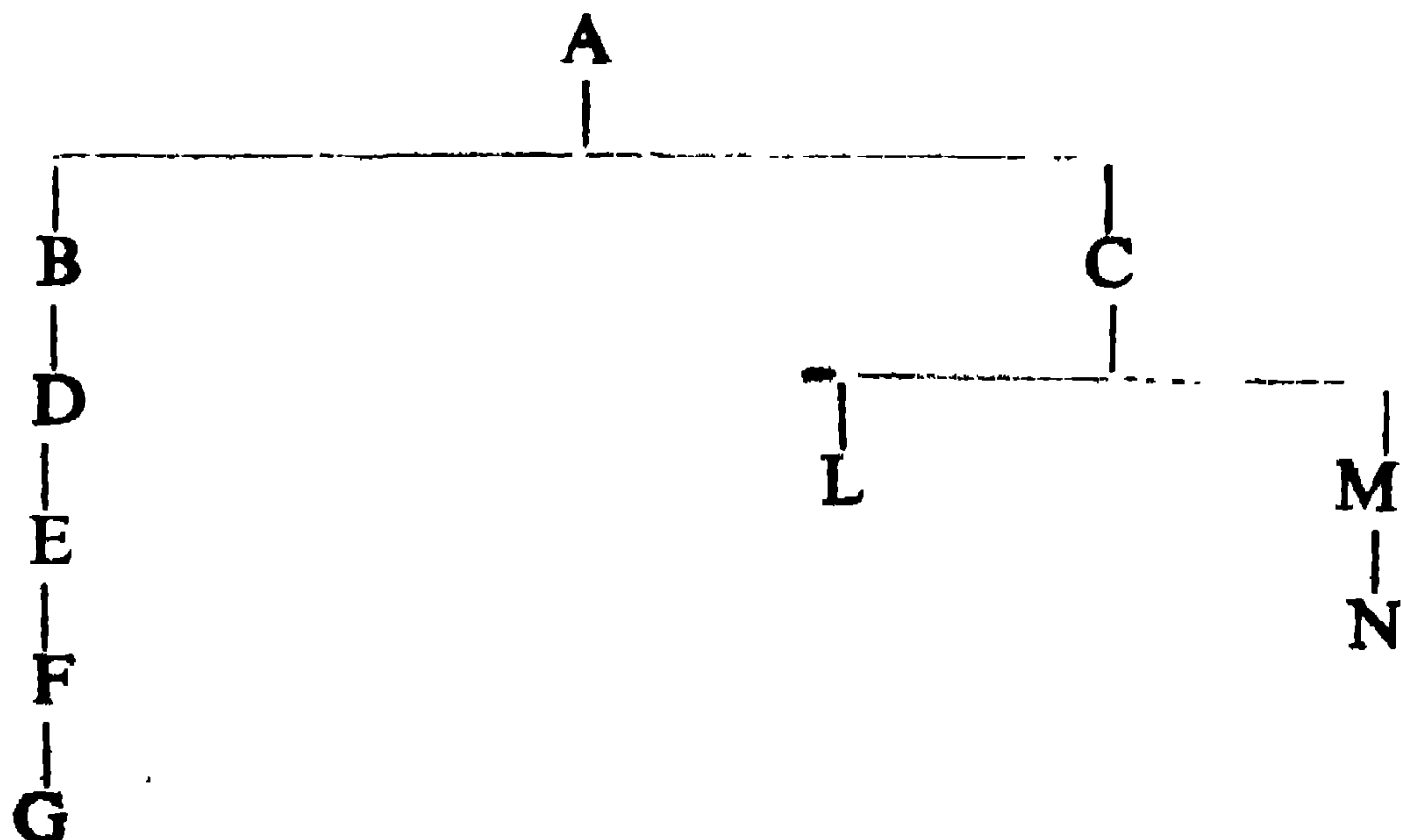
This is a queer argument indeed.³

Jeemutavahana's position is more logical and more consistent with older usage. The *śrāddha* ritual performed to give *piṇḍa* to an ancestor is performed by a man in such a way that he gives *piṇḍa* to many of his ancestors and their wives including his father and mother. A *śrāddha* could be performed by a widow for her husband only. Presumably, the king inheriting a property also performed an *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha*.

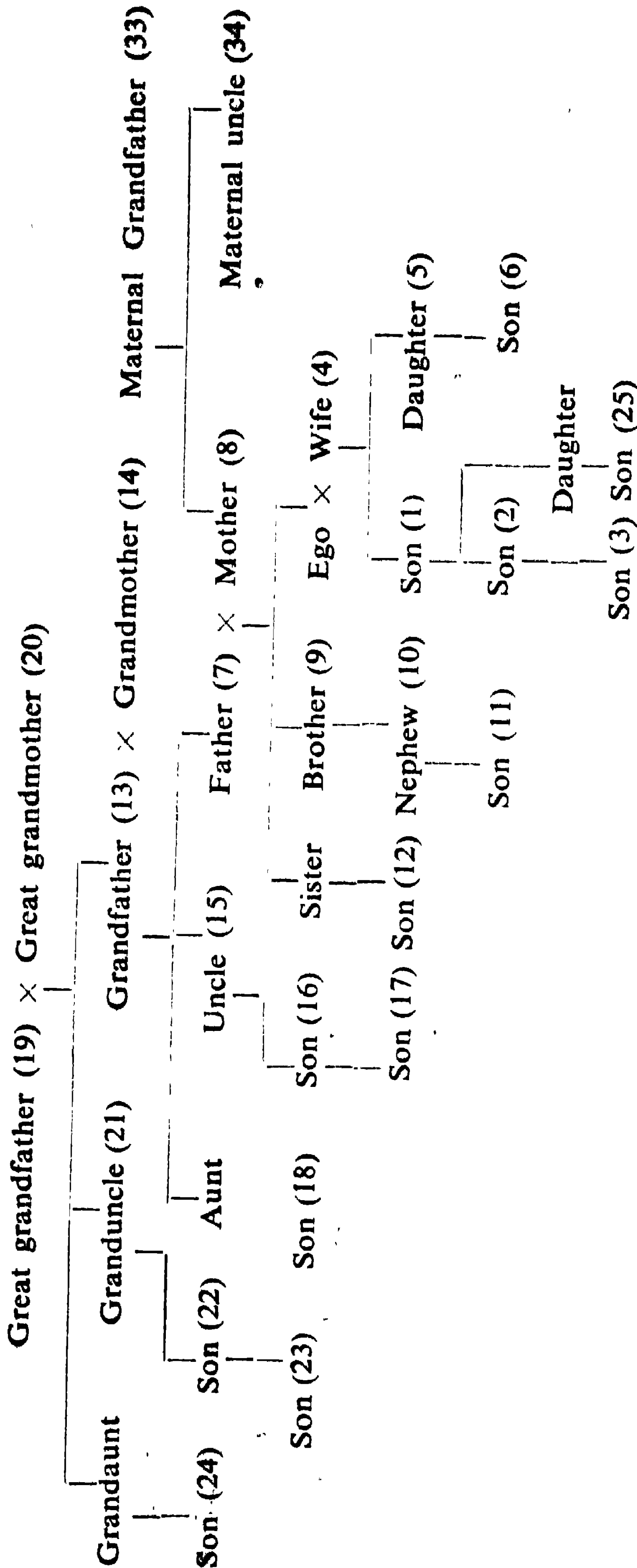
In trying to free inheritance from ritual considerations Vijnaneshwar gave a new meaning to an old word. He enunciated a principle of consanguinity. In order to secure a certain amount of right to the wife he made an unwarranted extension of the concept of consanguinity which went against the first marriage taboo in the north. A man could not marry a *sapiṇḍa* woman. But Vijnaneshwar made the wife a *sapiṇḍa* of the man, which was completely illogical. By his definition, a woman was *sapiṇḍa* because she gave birth to a child who was *sapiṇḍa* of both herself and the husband. Does it mean that she was not *sapiṇḍa* if she remained barren?

The principle of consanguinity was given up entirely in certain cases. A mother's brother or parents were consanguine to the same degree as father's brother or parents, but their rank as heirs came only after the paternal line was exhausted. His own principle failed to free him from the paternal bias of the northern family.

An interesting thing to note in this context is that, according to the Mitakshara interpretation, those who hold property in common, i.e., those who are co-partners, belong together to four descending generations only, counting the Ego. In the genealogy given below, A,B,C,D,L,M,N and E could divide the property together.



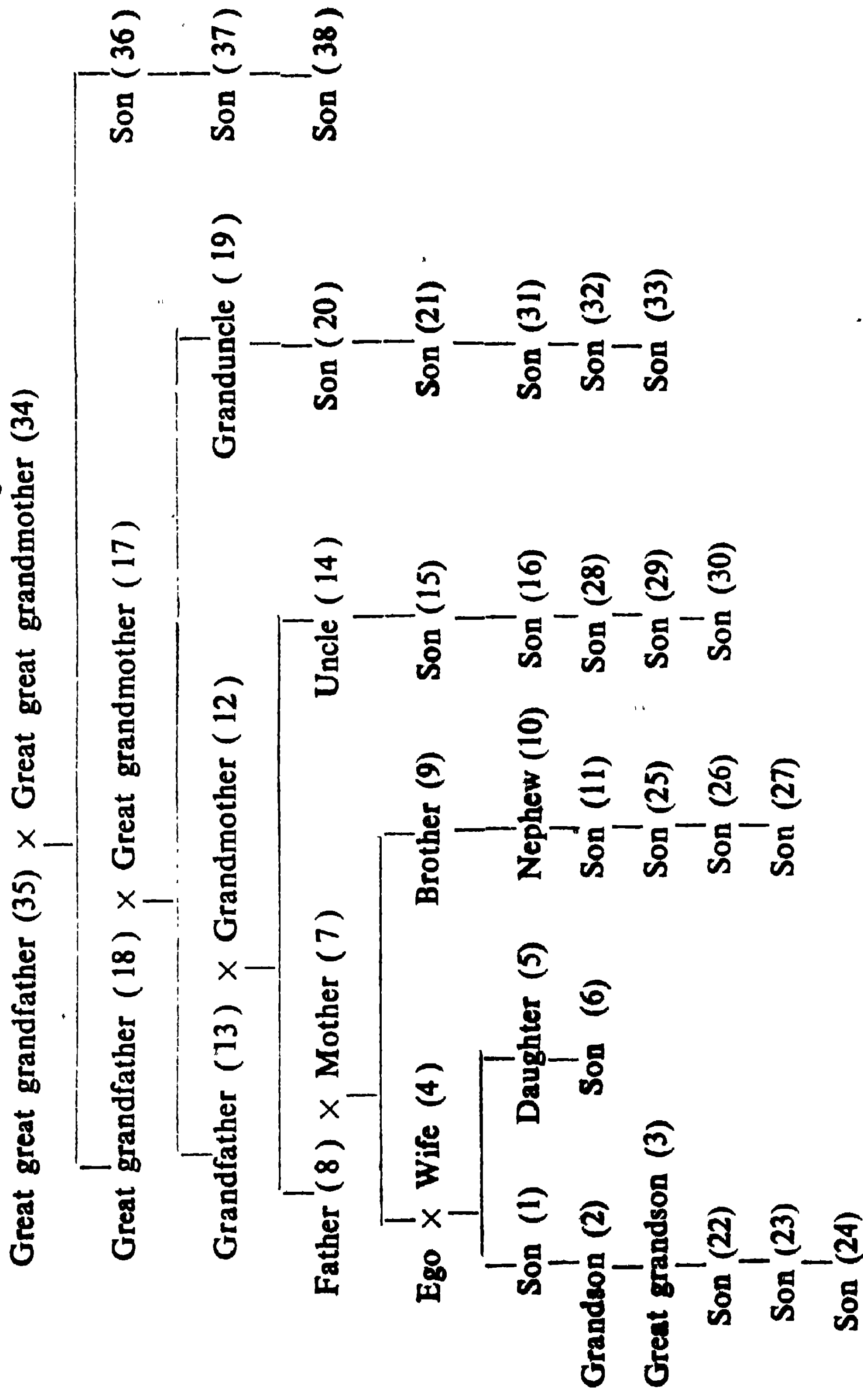
Succession and inheritance according to Dayabhaga



Nos. 26-32 are sons of granddaughter, great grand daughter, niece, grandniece etc for details see page 688, *loc. cit.*

Extracted with some modification from MAYNE'S *Hindu Law* Page 688.

Succession and inheritance according to Mitakshara



This enumeration goes on till 204 people in the direct male line are enumerated. Then the inheritance goes into the mother's line

For further details see MAYNE'S *Hindu Law* Page 616.

F being the great great grandson (the 5th) had no rights. It will be remembered that the birth of a great grandson was a matter of great rejoicing and ceremonies, while the birth of a great great grandson was supposed to be inauspicious. The kinship terms by which this individual was designated also brought out the fact that he was inauspicious or that kinship ceased at that point. This attitude is also reflected in the *pinḍa* offering because a man gives *pinḍa* by name to his three immediate ancestors only. The great great grandson, as will be seen from the tables given on p. 354, could, according to Mitakshara, inherit but was never a co-partner.

All these points will be clear from the charts for inheritance given on pp. 353-4. The heirs are mentioned, according to rank as given by the 'schools' of Jeemutavahana and Vijnaneshwar.

9. *Woman's Position in Inheritance.*

A reference to the charts will show that as regards both the above authors, among the enumerated heirs the own widow and the daughter are fourth and fifth. If the daughter has a son the estate remained in her son's line once she had inherited. The rights of the widow and the daughter were established through the *ekoddiṣṭa-śrāddha* they were allowed to perform according to Jeemutavahana. The right of the daughter's son rested on the fact that he could give *pinḍa* to his mother's ancestors and so the mother's father was spiritually benefitted.

The Mitakshara principle of consanguinity held good as regards the daughter and the daughter's son and his special principle of consanguinity explained the widow's position. As a matter of fact, both these authors were commenting on Smṛti books of great antiquity and authority. The widow and the daughter and her son are among 'enumerated' heirs in all the Smṛtis. In the case of others, the Smṛtis indicated the way of inheritance without specifically mentioning the kin. In these the commentators could juggle with their interpretations.

As already remarked, the commentators made no distinction between inheritance and succession. In certain stories, as we shall see further, the distinction was made but not in the Smṛti literature. Inheritance is coming into possession of certain material and spiritual (see further) goods belonging to somebody connected by blood and/or ritual bonds. Succession is coming into possession of a certain status and the right to do certain things following that status. In the case of women, the difference between inheritance and succession became clear in practices which were

followed at least since the above commentaries were written right through the British period upto the present.

A widow was not allowed to visit the innermost sacred shrines of the temples, she could not preside at any familial ritual which had the sacred fire as part of it. All ritual had the fire and so she could not take part in it.* As a widow she was inauspicious and could not be present at celebrations. Marriage, thread ceremony etc., were done with the sacred fire as the main deity. At these ceremonies an invitation is given to god for which a procession goes to a temple. In former times, invitations were given personally by a man and a woman — a husband and wife preferably, but otherwise by a man accompanied by a kinswoman whose husband was alive. Thus a widow could inherit property but through the death of her husband lost all the rights to perform certain rituals. If her daughter was to marry, she had to call the husband's brother or uncle to give away the daughter. On such occasion the brother-in-law and his wife perform the fire worship and give away the bride. On the occasion of the marriage of a widow's son again, the uncle (father's brother) and his wife would 'receive' the bride. Thus a widow could inherit property but could never succeed to the ritual rank of her husband. I have already noted the fact that the position of the 'mother' of the family which she enjoys seems, in the absence of her husband, to add to her stature and personality (Chapter III, p. 2).

This was the position of the widowed woman, apparently since ancient times.

The familial and public rituals could not be performed by a man if he had no wife. I have given examples of men who were disinherited and barred from succession because they did not marry. Though a man had a position independent of his wife, he lost status when he became a widower. As men practised polygyny, the chances of a man becoming a widower were few. But we have enough evidence in ancient literature and modern practice to show that a widower did lose some rights which he would otherwise have

* Some reformistic schools of Brahmins allow at present performance of rituals by widows. The author had occasion to witness such a ceremony. The woman after her husband's death was denied shelter by the husband's brother. She brought up her infant children with great difficulty by serving at other peoples' houses. When the eldest daughter was to be married the woman thought of calling her husband's brother to preside over the ritual. The reformist Brahmins succeeded in persuading her to preside herself over the ritual. Even now, the older custom is prevalent and a widow does not take part in such rituals.

as a head of the family. All familial and public Hindu ritual was always performed with the help of the wife. A man who had no wife could not perform a public sacrifice or a domestic ritual but apparently from ancient times men had found a way out of this difficulty. The first such reference is made by Kalidasa who said that Rama, after abandoning his wife Sita, performed many sacrifices without getting married again. This he could do by placing beside him a golden image of Sita.⁴ This disability of men and its removal continues right upto the present days. In Maharashtra a widower performing a domestic or other ritual is required to keep near him an areca nut to represent the wife. Unfortunately widows have not been given this outlet to escape the ritual handicap of being a widow.

The two books and commentaries on them were in force as authorities of law right upto the end of the British period. When the two books did not give clear instructions, Pundits were consulted and their interpretations were followed. Never before in Indian history did Brahmanic law govern the whole of India as during the British period.

(C)

In this part I wish to analyze the practices which were in vogue in the period before approximately the 10th century and reaching back into the Vedic times. During this period from about the 4th or 5th century B.C. the various Smṛtis were in existence. But in the following analysis the injunctions given in the Smṛti books are not discussed as they have been thoroughly described and discussed by many Indologists. The material used in the following analysis is from stories, dramas, the two epics and the Upanishads.

What is Property and Ownership ?

From the disposal of property described in various stories, we find that property was of three types.

1. Property owned was so personal that it was destroyed or given away when the owner died.

Such property has been described again and again in story literature. The personal garments of the dead man were generally given away as gifts to poor people. But there was other property which was so intimately connected with a person that it was destroyed or it vanished with the death of the person. Such property was the weapon or the conch shells owned by the various heroes.

Sometimes very special horses and chariots were also owned in such a way. The weapons etc., had their own names and apparently everybody knew the names of the weapons possessed by a great hero. *Gāṇḍīva* — a powerful bow — was owned by Arjuna, *Devadatta* was the name of his conch shell. *Pāñcajanya* was the name of the conch shell of Shri Krishna.⁵ We find analogy to this kind of possession among heroes in the West also. King Arthur had a sword with an own name. The sword, just as the weapons of the Mahabharata heroes, vanished with the possessor.

One might presume from certain Vedic hymns that the wife might have been a type of property which was destroyed at the death of the husband who "owned" her.

2. This was the property which belonged to a person because he had a certain status. This could be designated status-paraphernalia. Such was the white umbrella and the fly swats made of the tail of Chamara deer. Kalidasa, while describing the generosity of a king, specially makes mention that the king had given away everything as gifts except the umbrella and the fly swats which were "non-endowable".⁶ For such property again we have an analogy among other peoples of the world also. The king could give away the kingdom. In doing this he also gives away the status symbols. But the status symbols could never be given away by themselves.

3. Ownership rights in this third type of property were absolute in the sense that during the life-time of the owner nobody had any right over the property. Sometimes it appeared that even after death the owner possessed certain rights in such property.

We can say that there was all the time absolute ownership of property, whether it was earned or inherited. This is the same type of ownership as that of Dayabhaga. Using the words of Mitakshara one can say that all *dāya* (property) was *sapratibandha*, that is to say, obstructed by the existence of the owner. It is necessary to go into the conception of this type of ownership as illustrated by literature.

The example which occurs again and again in the epic literature is that of "the analogy of seed and field" (*Bījakṣetranyāya*).⁷ This analogy was used with respect to the ownership of a man over his wife and justified the practice of begetting sons on one's own wife from somebody else. The wife is the *kṣetra* or the field. It was argued that if a man owned a bit of land and if a seed belonging to somebody else happened to fall in that land, the fruit thereof belonged to the owner of the land and not to the owner of the seed.

In the epic story, after the death of king Vichitravirya, Vyas was called to generate sons on the widows of the king. These sons got the common name Vichitravirya, that is, progeny of Vichitravirya. On the other hand, as their mothers were different they also have the names Ambikeya, the son of Ambika, and Ambalikeya, the son of Ambalika. The third son borne to the slave of the dead king was also counted as the king's son. The two wives as also the slave still stood in the ownership of the dead king.

In this analogy the woman is supposed to be owned by a man just as a field is owned by a man. In the above example which belongs to a kingly family we find that the ownership extended even after death. But in ordinary circumstances the ownership both over wife and land ceased with death.*

It is written in the Smṛtis and also in stories that the land and estate of a man who dies without an heir go to the king. In certain circumstances, the woman whose husband is dead could also belong to the king or to anybody else. There is a story in Buddhist literature⁸ which tells of a king who fell in love with a very beautiful woman but could not get her in his harem because her husband was living. We are told of the many tricks used by the king to find fault with the man and to kill him. In this context the word used as an adjective for the woman is very significant. When the king first saw the woman he made inquiries as to whether she was married or not. The expression is *assāmikā vā sassāmikā vā. Sāmī*, which is Prakrit of the Sanskrit word *svāmī* means an owner and *assāmikā* means a woman who has no owner: that is to say a woman who is either a virgin or a widow. Just as unowned land could be taken over by the king, so also an unowned woman could be got by the king. We may say that this right of owning something which was not claimed by anybody else was enjoyed not only by the king but by any common man.

We thus see that the *bījakṣetra* analogy which was applied to a woman rested on ideas of ownership over all things which could be owned: houses, immovable property, son and wife.

* In folk belief however one meets with the idea that even after death men try to retain possession of wealth and wife. In India a man is supposed to be born as a serpent to guard his wealth. There are stories in all parts of India and also in the other parts of the world about dead men making it impossible for the living to take possession of what they have left behind. Dead women, according to current Hindu belief, harass the new wife of their husbands. Ideas of fidelity and constancy in love seem to be based on ideas of ownership.

This analogy again makes clear that the king governed a people and was also designated by the land he governed, but he had no ownership rights of any kind over the land he governed. This absoluteness of ownership of an individual possessing anything is given expression to again and again in stories, in philosophical discussions and in ritual. Manu, in canto VIII, verses 27 onwards (Manusmṛti) makes this point very clear.

Verse 27 translated reads :

“The king should keep in safe custody the property of a child until the child comes of age.”

Verse 30 reads :

“The wealth of one who is lost should be protected for three years. The owner can claim it if he returns within three years. After that period the king can take possession of it.”

Verse 40 reads :

“Money stolen by and recovered from robbers should be given away in gift to people of all *varṇas*. If the king makes use of it, he shares in the guilt of robbery.”

These verses leave one in no doubt at all about the ancient usage and law by which land and property was owned absolutely by the holder. The king was not the owner of the land he governed.

We have already said that apparently in the Vedic times the wife was cremated along with the dead husband. Vestiges of that custom remained almost upto the present date in the custom of *Sati*.

A similar right was possessed by a man over his sons and daughters. A man could kill his sons, as Somaka, Jantu's father, did in the Mahabharata.⁹

The right of a man over his daughter was limited under certain circumstances. If a girl's marriage could not be arranged by the father or the brother, she had the right to seek a husband. If a girl eloped with somebody or was forcibly carried off by somebody who married her later, the father could not complain. On the other hand, the husband's right over his wife was absolute.

This latter fact was questioned by Draupadi in the Mahabharata.¹⁰ Prince Dharma had become a crowned king by the fact that he was ceremonially enthroned (sprinkled on the head with holy water) at Indraprastha. He, his brothers, the wife—the ceremonially crowned Queen Draupadi—were all guests at Hastinapura. King Dharma, in a game of dice, lost his whole kingdom, gambled away the freedom of himself and his brothers and also gambled his wife.

The winners, the sons of Dhṛtarashtra sent a messenger to Draupadi saying that she was henceforth a slave and was called by her masters to the great assembly hall. Draupadi asked the question, "Did Dharma put me up as a bet before he had lost his freedom or after?" She was taken to the assembly hall where she repeated the question again. Apparently, nobody could answer the question properly. Different views were expressed and Bhishma, the wisest and the oldest of the Kuru house, said "It is not possible to answer your question as it is very difficult to decide. It is true that a man who is a slave cannot have any possessions; on the other hand, it is equally true that a man has absolute rights over his wife."

Draupadi wanted to argue that her husband, after having lost his own freedom, had no right over anything and therefore could not gamble away his wife. As we find, the question was never answered in the Mahabharata or in later literature.

A man could disinherit his sons and give his property or kingdom to somebody else. This was done by king Bharata¹¹ and before him by the sage Vishvamitra.¹²

If a kingdom could be given away to whom one willed, what happened to those who were dependent on the king? As the quotation in chapter III of this book shows, there were brothers, uncles, their wives and children, illegitimate sons, concubines, a number of widows, Brahmins and slaves who formed the household of the king. In some cases we are told simply about disinheritance and we are not told what happened to the disinherited and their families. In others, we know from the context of the story that such people lived in the kingly household, were assured of their maintenance and sometimes even enjoyed the status of a revered (but ineffective) elder as in the case of Bhishma in the Mahabharata. It seems thus that a man could disinherit or banish or kill his son or successor but that did not free him or the chosen successor from the duty of feeding and sheltering the whole family. Not only a named successor but even a usurper had this duty to perform, but not always, especially if he did not belong to the family.

The *Īśāvāsya Upaniṣad* opens with a stanza which translated means "whatever is moving on the earth belongs to *Īśa*. Take that which he has abandoned. Do not covet somebody else's wealth." In this verse, the word used for God is *Īśa*—one who is powerful, one who governs. The imagery is that of an absolute possessor by whose will alone others can enjoy whatever is given to them.*

* See the note by Prof. MEHENDALE appended to this chapter.

The word *tyakta* used in the above couplet is of great significance. This word is the past passive participle of the verb *tyaj* = to give away, to abandon. We have evidences from the Vedic hymns of a ritual in which there is a solemn act of giving up something before anybody else could accept it.¹³ In the later form of this ritual a man wishing to make a gift takes water in his hands, utters loudly the name of the thing which he wishes to give up. Then he says "this is not mine" (*idam na mama*) and pours the water on the earth. The other party then says solemnly "I have accepted; this is mine". At the time of the marriage of a girl, the father has to give away the girl as a gift to the bridegroom by uttering the formula. This ritual which is used even for giving gifts to Brahmins etc. shows that one had to make a declaration of abandoning the right over something before that thing could be accepted by another.*

This same concept of giving something and receiving something, including material and immaterial things, is found also in an Upaniṣadic passage where a dying father is supposed to be transferring his power and wealth to his son.¹⁴

* In Maharashtra this imagery is used in daily speech. When a man abandons something (a debt etc.) as unrecoverable, he says, "I have poured water over it." Probably similar phrases occur in other Indian languages also.

The passage describes the procedure to be followed by a dying man and runs as follows: "The father sends for his son. Strews the room with fresh grass. Places the fire and the pot full of water near himself, covers himself with a cloth and lies on the ground. The son comes and sleeps on top of the father, limbs touching the father's limbs — face to face. In this way all is given to him. The father says "My speech I place in you". Says the son "Your speech I take" In this way joys, sorrows, intelligence, desires, knowledge, are all given to the son, who takes them. The son then goes round the father and goes eastwards. The father calls out after him, "May success, glory, material goods and fame be attained by you". The son calls out in return, "May you obtain heaven and your desires". If after this the father recovers from his illness, he should live under the mastery (*aiśvarya*) of his son or become an ascetic (and go away from home). This same passage finds a short reference in another *Upaniṣad* but in a different context. The commentator mentions there that when after giving over everything to the son the father dies, the father himself lives on in this world in the form of his son. Whatever has been left undone or unfulfilled as a duty by the father is done by the son who thus prevents the father from going to hell.

This passage also occurs in *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*.¹⁵ The two passages taken together mean that a father by his action can give to his son all his possessions and rights, his liabilities and debts, and his duties, such as the protection of members of the family etc. From the passage it appears that this act of giving could be done only in the case of one son. It does not

All these older passages show a transaction between *two* people — the giver and the receiver. The question posed while discussing kinship usages (pp. 34-35; 63-64) occurs here again. Was the ancient family system such that only the eldest son married, the eldest son succeeded and the eldest son inherited?

In such a situation succession and inheritance become one. In the later period when there was individual marriage and inheritance, the Smṛti literature did not hold succession and inheritance as separate, though we have evidence from older literature that sometimes succession and inheritance went different ways. In a Buddhist story¹⁶ we are told of a king's priest. The priest died leaving a very young son. The priesthood was given to another man because the son could not perform all the ritual. The son went to Taxila, learnt in a short time all there was to learn and came back. He then attended a ritual performed for elephants. The new priest did not remember some part, but the ritual was taken to its end by the young boy who was standing there and so he got back his father's position. The boy had obviously inherited his father's wealth and house but not the position.

In the same way in the Mahabharata story the eldest son Dhṛtarashtra being blind did not succeed to the throne and the younger brother became the king. The two brothers, Dhṛtarashtra and Vidura, who did not get the kingdom lived in great pomp. One of them intrigued to get back the kingdom for his son.

Duryodhana, the son of Dhṛtarashtra, had felt that the kingdom should have belonged to him by right because his father was the eldest son. Dhṛtarashtra, his father, explained to him, in a very illuminating passage, all the principles which governed the patrilineal households.¹⁷ He told him how in his own Hastinapura line succession ordinarily went from father to son and how, once a man was set aside, his line was barred from succession. In that one small passage the absoluteness of ownership (in the sense that a man could set aside one or all of his sons) and linearity of succession have both been beautifully stressed and illustrated. In this speech, he clearly enunciated the normal rule of succession of the ancient northern family. Because of this linearity, an enumeration of succession was called *vamśa*. *Vamśa* ordinarily means a bamboo stalk; the successive nodes in the bamboo show the line of succession. Just as a bamboo has no side branches, so in the

tell us what happened in the case of other sons. It also states categorically that once this act of "giving" was performed, the father had to live under the "mastery" (*aīṣvarya*) of the son or, renouncing all, go into the forest.

northern succession in the normal course there would be no side branches. As we shall see later on, this conception of linearity is absent in the case of the southern matrilineal families.

In olden times the position of the widows does not seem to be different from that found in the times of Jeemutavahana and Vijnaneshwar. Widows had neither property nor power in big joint families. But among commoners there could be widows enjoying the fortune of their husbands.

As guardians of minor heirs widows had both power and wealth, but even so the epic data show that they shared the responsibility with some male relatives who were the actual decision-makers. This was the case with Satyavati, the widow of Shantanu, and also with Subhadra¹⁸ who was left behind by Arjuna to look after her grandson and nephew. In the Buddhist literature there are two stories pertinent to this point. In one,¹⁹ a widow had apparently all the property after her husband's death. She is said to have divided it among her seven sons and seven daughters who subsequently neglected her. The other story²⁰ tells of an old widowed grandmother living in a big house with her small granddaughter. Apparently, they had no male relatives and were living by selling articles from the old house. In the story, the young granddaughter is shown as offering a golden plate in return for some beads. This story might show that a merchant, his wife and son had died leaving an old mother and a small granddaughter. The granddaughter apparently was the heiress and the grandmother, the guardian. Both the stories show that whatever was inherited was owned absolutely inasmuch as the widow could give away her whole property to her daughters and the granddaughter with the consent of her grandmother could and did sell valuables not merely for maintenance but for getting play-things and baubles like beads.

Kalidasa²¹ gave an example of a man dying childless whose estate could be taken over by a king. Apparently a good king was reluctant to take such an estate and left it to the surviving females.

Old records show that women almost never succeeded to the estate of the father. An only daughter was called *putrikā*, her son inherited her father's estate and status. A *putrikā* was a girl who belonged to the house of her father and not to the house of her husband. Though many references to *putrikā* are found in literature, in actual story and legend there are very few cases of such inheritance. Gandhari referred to a son of Pratipa and a brother of Shantanu who had inherited the kingdom of his mother's father.²² The other case is also from the same epic. Arjuna

married princess Chitrangada who was the only daughter of her father. The son of Chitrangada remained with his mother and mother's father and inherited his mother's father's kingdom.²³

D

1. While discussing kinship it was said that the principle which divides kin in three generations was absent from the whole of the Dravidian kinship system (Ch. V). The Ego was the centre and the kin was divided into two groups: those born before the Ego and those born after the Ego. This type of arrangement was reflected in all kinship terms and also in marriage practices. On the other hand, succession and inheritance in the patrilineal part of the south, i.e., Andhra, Karnatak and Tamilnad, has been governed by rules which were in existence in the north also. Whether this happened after the Mitakshara was written or was so for a longer period needs to be investigated from literary and inscriptional records of the south and Ceylon which the author has not been able to do so far. Such an investigation will reveal the types of accommodation which can occur between different social systems and perhaps give us a glimpse of the social forces which make such an accommodation possible or necessary.

2. In the south there is one region which differs in almost all respects as regards family organization from the north and in some important respects from the rest of the south. As the following analysis will reveal, this region does show a different pattern of succession from the north and the main difference rests on the fact that the kinship system rests on chronological order and not primarily on generational order. There are other differences too as we shall see.

Certain things need to be emphasized again. The classical matrilineal household is made up of a woman, her male and female descendants, and male and female descendants of the females. In this family there are no people connected by marriage. The men of the family visit their wives who live in their own mothers' family. The law of inheritance and succession which governs these families is a purely traditional unwritten custom, which became codified during the early British period. It has also been widely modified in certain respects. We shall deal with these modifications very briefly at the end.

In the matrilineal communities the joint family is called *thārwad*. The *thārwad* is "a group of persons forming a joint family governed by the Marumakkattayam". This family is made

up of descendants of a woman. The Marumakkattayam law is such that the family property descends in the female line and is inherited by men and women because they are descendants of a woman. A male holding certain offices and earning any money is succeeded by his younger brother or a sister's son whoever is the next in age. The law of inheritance in case of division is very simple. Every person of a *thārwad* has an equal share in property, the division is always *per capita* and never *per stirps*.

Thus each person in a *thārwad* has the same status as the others, as far as the actual receiving of a share of the property goes.

A *thārwad* can be a simple unilineal joint family, consisting of a woman, her son and a daughter, and daughter's son and so on. This is, however, rare inasmuch as there are hardly any houses with one daughter. Generally a *thārwad* is made up of sisters and their children. Each of these sisters with her descendants forms a line or branch called *thavazhy*. When a *thārwad* becomes too big and splits it generally splits along *thavazhies*. If lands in a distant village need to be looked after by a household living near the lands, then a junior *thārwad* is set up in such a way that a sister or daughter of the old *thārwad*, together with her descendants, is given a new house near the lands. The property is held jointly by the mother *thārwad* and sister *thārwad* unless a definite partition with the consent of all has occurred.

The oldest male member of a *thārwad* is called *Karanavan* in Kerala and *Ejamana* in the Kanara district of the Mysore state. This man has the duty to look after the whole property of the *thārwad*. As the manager he may add to the property, he may alienate some property, he may gift away some property with perfect right provided the intention in so doing was to protect the property. His actions can be questioned only if it is thought that he was using the property in a way non-beneficial to the *thārwad*, for example, if he is suspected of giving some property or accumulating money for his sons. Though his authority is great, it is never absolute. In this respect it is like that in Mitakshara law rather than in the Dayabhaga law.

Below is given a genealogy of a royal family showing the mode of succession. The king is called Maharaja. The crown prince is called Yuvaraja, the seniormost woman alive is called the Senior Rani, the one who comes next in age is called the Junior Rani. The mode of succession is extremely simple in this *thārwad* made up of four *thavazhies*, that is, four parallel branches made up of descendants of the four daughters of the original 'mother'.

A man is succeeded by another who is chronologically the next to him. The successor may belong to any of the four *thavazhies*. Thus all the living males of a *thārwad* form a common pool from which each time the seniormost living male succeeds to the Maharajaship. We find that upto 1863 Maharaja I ruled. He was succeeded by Maharaja II who was the son of sister No. 2 of Maharaja No. I. Maharaja III was the brother of Maharaja II. Maharaja IV was the son of an aunt (mother's sister) of the Maharaja III. Maharaja V was the son of a parallel cousin of Maharaja IV and was thus a 'nephew'. Maharaja VI was a son of Maharaja V's great aunt and was a 'maternal uncle' of Maharaja V. Maharajas VII and VIII were the nephews (parallel cousins' sons of Maharaja VI, and brothers of Maharaja V). Maharaja IX was a parallel cousin of Maharaja VIII. Maharaja X was a son of a parallel cousin and he is the present Maharaja and the present heir apparent or Yuvaraja is a maternal uncle of the present Maharaja. All this complicated descent, will be clear on the succession table. The author wants to draw the attention to the fact that the principle of linearity which we have observed in the northern families is entirely absent. The northern family was linear in two senses. The descent was always from father to the eldest son and to his eldest son and so on. There was another linearity which applied to the collateral branches, in the sense that if at any point the eldest son died without issue, the next heir would be the next son and, failing sons, the succession would go to the next brother. The author has pointed out in dealing with the southern family that in the south, juniority or seniority was determined on chronological principle only and not on the basis of generations. The practice of a man marrying an *elder* sister's daughter and a definite taboo on the marriage with a *younger* sister's daughter was explained on this principle. The same principle of chronological seniority holds good as regards succession also. In the north where the principle of "generation" holds, a succession never reverts to one's own generation or upper generation as long as there are descendants. In a northern kingly family, all the parallel lines are thus virtually barred from succession to kingship. On the other hand, in the genealogy of the royal house we find that no man or woman is excluded from succession whatever their generational rank. The pool remains common and open all the time. Because succession is by chronological order, it may go zig-zag as it has actually done in this genealogy.

The succession of a woman to a position also depends on chronological seniority and is not dependent on her relationship to the ruling male. In this genealogy, the title Senior Rani is given to the eldest female and Junior Rani is the next one chronologically. A Senior Rani may continue to be Senior Rani through the reigns of one or more kings. In this genealogy, the Arabic numbers 1, 2, 3 show the Senior Ranis and the order of their succession.

While the Maharaja I was ruling, his mother, Senior Rani 1 was the Senior Rani for some time. The Junior Rani who was his eldest sister died in 1879, during the Senior Raniship of the mother. After the death of the Senior Rani, the remaining daughters became Senior Ranis one after the other. The Senior Rani No. 2 was Senior Rani during part of the regime of Maharaja II and Maharaja III who were her sons. Senior Rani No. 3 was Senior Rani, while her sister's son was Maharaja III. Thus, Maharaja I had his mother as Senior Rani, Maharaja II had the grandmother and mother as senior Ranis one after the other, Maharaja IV, who abdicated in 1911, had as Senior Ranis: his mother (3), then his aunt (4), and his two cousins (5) and (6).

3. In the north, the Raniship is always the prerogative of the wife of the ruling male. On the death of her husband and the succession of her son, the son and his wife become the Raja and Rani, while she becomes the queen mother or *Rājamātā* (King's mother). In the southern household the position of power held by the male and female depends only on the chronological seniority of each and not on one fixed kinship. We find thus that the southern family and its organization are based on ideas which are very different from those of the north. This difference is seen not only in marriage regulations but also in inheritance and succession.

As regards the changing patterns of family during and after the British period, it may be said that certain factors common to the whole land changed the pattern in such a way that men could get employment away from home and independently of the family income and could support their small family unit. When men found employment in their thousands as clerks and workers on railways, in the post and telegraph departments and in the hundreds of administrative offices, they had to go away from home. Each Indian geographical region has its own food habits and each regional caste has its own peculiar taboos. Common food arrangements for a mass of people gathered together for some work could therefore not be undertaken, so that each man, whether he be the lowest paid labourer or the highest paid administrative officer, had to have a

home where his food would be cooked. If these men were single, then they clubbed together and somebody who had a wife or a mother cooked for all; but the aim was to have a home of one's own. This required that the wife come and establish a household. This was the necessity both in the patriarchal part of India as well as in the matriarchal south-west. In the north the wife, who became part of the husband's house on marriage, went with him as a matter of course.

This led to far reaching accommodations with respect to the joint family, its property and the rule of the patriarch, and though men lived in single households with their wives it did not lead immediately to the break up of the joint family. The joint family received some money from the member or members serving outside. In return, the man serving outside could send his wife for delivery to his home, or if anybody was ill they could go and rest at the family house. A man had also a home to go to after retirement. The small family in the town or city became the educational centre for the larger rural family. Nephews would be brought up and sent to school with one's own children. Gradually a certain percentage of such families broke away legally from the joint family. A large volume of litigation took place during recent times in which a man claimed that what he had earned was his, individually, while the joint family contended that the earning was made possible through education or capital provided by the joint family. A large number of unit families succeeded in getting independent of the joint family but have founded joint families again with their sons and the wives of the sons. These families appear to be, however, temporary, as they do not have the firm age-long traditions of a common house and common land possessions of generations. Such families break to form new temporary joint families.²⁴ The first small inroad into the spirit of the patrilineal joint family occurred when a law was passed (1942) that the widow of a man should inherit equally with the sons. This secured independent maintenance to the widow but she was not placed on par with other inheritors. She could not will away her estate; ordinarily it went to her sons and in the absence of sons whoever was the inheritor in her husband's kin. Thus she had a life-interest only in what she inherited, though during her life time she could use her money liberally, she could even alienate small portions of property for religious purposes or in dire need. The other changes which have occurred through the new laws of inheritance introduced by the new Hindu code are discussed below.

In the matrilineal south also the same conditions introduced great changes in the *thārwad*. As MAYNE so aptly says,²⁵ "Marriage as an institution out of which inheritance necessarily followed was not recognized by the customary law before the Malabar Marriage Act 1896. This was due to the matriarchal system of holding property which gave the women and children rights in the *thārwad* of their origin." During the British period, new opportunities of employment made it necessary for men to go and live in distant places. In such places, a man needed a woman to cook for him and to keep house for him. The womenfolk in a *thārwad*, the mothers and sisters could not leave their children to accompany and look after the son or brother. Following the pattern of the patri-families the men started to take their wives with them. In this way the old matrilineal joint family began to break.* The law of 1896 provided that if a man registered his marriage, his wife and children could inherit his property. The 1932 Act abolished the condition of registration and recognized the validity of the customary marriage giving rights of maintenance to the wife and minor children. The Madras Act also enforced strict monogamy. Just as the Hindu patrilineal joint family did not break up by legal provisions which gave rights of partition or rights of maintenance to the widow, so also in the south though the author saw a number of families of Nayars and of Nambudri-Nayar marriages being established as virtually single families, there were and are even today a large number of *thārwads* in existence. In the royal families the succession is purely matrilineal, i.e., from a man to his sisters or aunts' son and the royal estate is held to be impartible and resting in the hands of women (*strīvothu*) only.

4. In the ordinary families of both the north and the south, fundamental changes have been introduced by the new Hindu Code passed in 1948 which applies to the whole of India and which has superseded all other Acts passed in different State Legislatures or in the Central Legislature before this date.

This Code has introduced certain fundamental changes in the structure of the joint family of the Mitakshara type. It gives to

* In olden times also men did have occasion to go away from their *thārwads* when they were required to go on wars at the order of their chiefs. However these periods of absence away from the *thārwad* were short and the men were looked after by the chiefs. There was therefore no need for a more or less permanent establishment away from the *thārwad* such as was necessary during the long peace of the British period.

men as well as to women the right of absolute possession to whatever one has inherited and has slightly different laws for patrilineal and matrilineal families.** 14, 15

The Hindu Code, Part V — Sec. 86, lays down, "On and after commencement of this Code, no right to claim any interest in any property of an ancestor during his life time, which is founded on the mere fact that the claimant was born in the family of the ancestor, shall be recognized."

Section 87 says, "On and after commencement of this Code, no court shall recognize any right to or interest in any joint family property based on the rule of survivalship. All persons holding any joint property ... shall be deemed to hold it as tenants-in-common as if partition had taken place between all the members of the joint family ... on the date of commencement of this Code as if *each one of them is holding his or her own share separately as full owner thereof.*"

These two rules have denied the fundamental conceptions of the Mitakshara joint family where all male members had rights in the property by birth and could sue for partition and where the shares remained undefined till the actual date of partition, each new birth diminishing the shares, each death increasing the shares. Now a person has absolute right over his property whether self-earned or ancestral. Thus the joint family henceforward shall be like the Dayabhaga family of the north-east where shares are fixed, arise only on the death of a person and where the head has absolute right over his property.

Another regulation, Part VII, Sec. 96 says :

"For purposes of intestate succession, no distinction is made (1) between a son who was divided and a son who was undivided ... or one who has divided and reunited with the intestate and (2) between a female heir who is married, unmarried or a widow, or one who is poor or not poor or one who has issue or no issues."

This places all heirs on a basis of equality whatever their condition. This again shows that the joint family becomes a corpo-

** For details consult MAYNE and KANE who discuss the changes brought about by the new law; there are many books on the new code like : *A Text-Book of Hindu Law* by DEVKI NANDAN, RAM NARAYAN LAL BENI PRASAD PUBLISHERS, Allahabad, 1960, which go into all details of the new Code and also give leading cases.

ration in which people live together for convenience, each with his own share. A son who may have lived far away would have as much right as other sons if a man dies without making a will. Women who inherit do so irrespective of their condition and inherit absolutely as we shall see later. There are rules for the inheritance of the property of a woman if she dies intestate but she can will her estate to whom she will.

Schedules are given of the heirs of a man in case he dies intestate. In these schedules, the heirs are divided into ten classes, each subsequent class taking in the absence of the previous one. All those in class I take together. The shares of sons, daughters and the widow will be equal, i.e., they inherit *per capita*. If there are sons of a predeceased son, they inherit together the share of that son, that is *per stirps*. If there is a widow of a predeceased son, she takes half the son's share, the other being given to the son's sons. If a widow and two grandsons through a son are left, the widow takes half and the two grandsons together take the other half and so on. Schedule 7 gives the following classes of heirs :

Class I Son, widow, daughter, son of a predeceased son, widow of a predeceased son, son of a predeceased son of a predeceased son, widow of a predeceased son of a predeceased son.

Class II I Father, mother.

II (1) Son's daughter, (2) daughter's son, (3) daughter's daughter.

III (1) Son's daughter's son, (2) son's son's daughter, (3) son's daughter's daughter, (4) daughter's son's son, (5) daughter's son's daughter, (6) daughter's daughter's son, (7) daughter's daughter's daughter.

IV Brother, sister.

V (1) Brother's son, (2) sister's son, (3) brother's daughter, and (4) sister's daughter.

VI Father's father, father's mother.

VII Father's widow (ego's step-mother), brother's widow.

VIII Father's brother, Father's sister.

IX Mother's father, mother's mother.

X Mother's brother, mother's sister.

Those in class I shall take together, those standing in the first entry in Class II shall be preferred to those in the second entry etc.,

but those in each entry shall divide equally. This schedule shows that the nearer blood relation on the father's side come before those on the mother's side, but (1) no distinction is made between inheritance for men and women and (2) the mother's relatives come before distant relatives on the father's side. This also goes against the agnatic bias of Mitakshara. If none of these heirs are alive then a man's estate goes (a) to his agnates; if there are no agnates, then, (b) to his cognates. The agnatic bias is restored again by this rule.

Because a Hindu woman can now be absolute owner of inherited property there are rules for the inheritance of such property if she dies intestate :

(a) Property is inherited by the husband and children or children of predeceased children. The former take *per capita*, the latter *per stirps*. If only children survive they take the property. The husband takes it alone if there are neither children nor children's children.

Failing these heirs, the property is taken by the following heirs in the order named.

- (1) Mother, father.
- (2) Husband's heirs in the same order as named above for a male heir, as if the property was owned by the husband.
- (3) Mother's heirs.
- (4) Father's heirs.

We find here that husband and children come before all, but instead of the property reverting to the husband's heirs, the mother and father are named first, then the husband's heirs. In the absolute ownership of property, and in the order of succession after husband and children, the principle of a woman's heirs being the agnates of her husband is set aside. This also undermines the ancient bias of the patrilineal family.

5. As regards inheritance of property among the Marumakkattayam families (barring the royal families and a few other exceptions), the law of inheritance, if a man dies intestate, is as follows:

A man's estate shall be taken firstly by the heirs in Class I of the schedule given above. Failing those in Class I, it will be taken by Class II. The Section (a) and (b) following these are modified so that it reads (1) failing relatives of any of the above classes his relatives, agnates as well as cognates, take the property. No

distinction is made as regards agnates and cognates and relationship and distance from the deceased will be decided by the usual procedure of reckoning relationships by blood or marriage. Greater exceptions are made as regards the estate of a woman. The property of a woman governed by the Marumakkattayam law will be inherited firstly (a) by the sons and daughters, and mother, and sons and daughters of predeceased sons and daughters; (b) father and husband; (c) heirs of the mother; (d) heirs of the father; (e) heirs of the husband. We find here that as in the north the children are preferential heirs but while the husband takes with the children in the north, here he does not; here his place is taken by the mother. The father and husband come next. Again the mother's heirs come before the father's heirs and the husband's heirs come last.

The new law has broken up the jointness of property effectively, treats men and women in the same way and has given the same preference for the direct descendants. For the more distant descendants it has emphasized the father's and husband's family in the north and the mother and her family in the south. According to the new law, the nephew (sister's son) is barred from direct succession of either male or female and this is a revolution as regards the southern family.

How the law works and how it has modified the family structure in actual practice remains to be studied.

The new law of succession and inheritance can be viewed as a further step by which these practices became common in different kinship contexts. As mentioned above the first step was taken when a common code (Mitakshara) came to be applied to the north and the patrilineal south. A further step has been taken when the three regions of differing kinship organization have been sought to be brought under one law of inheritance with slight modifications for each region.

REFERENCES

- ¹ (a) *Anātha-piṇḍika* is the name of a man in Buddhist stories and refers to a man who gave *piṇḍa* (a ball of rice) to the destitute.
 (b) *piṇḍi-kṛ* (make into a ball), *piṇḍi-bhū* (become balled together) are two verbs. The latter is used by KALIDASA in *Meghadūta*, verse 58.
 (c) An oft-quoted adage says *piṇḍe piṇḍe matir bhinnā* in each body (person) there is a separate mind.
- ² KALIDASA, *Raghuvamsha*, 1.9.

³ Also, J. R. GHARPURE, *Collection of Hindu Law Texts*, Vol. XXVII, *Sāpīṇḍya*, or the Law of *Sapīṇḍa* Relationship, Bombay, 1943.

⁴ KALIDASA, *Raghuvamsha*, 14.87. *Ramayana*, Uttarkāṇḍa, Cant. 99, verse .7.

⁵ *Bhagavadgita*, 1.15, 16. *Mahabharata*, 4.38.36.

⁶ KALIDASA, *Raghuvamsha*, 3.16.

⁷ *Mahabharata*, 1.100.30.

⁸ *Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol. 29, pp. 100-108.

⁹ *Mahabharata*, 3.127 and 128.

¹⁰ *Mahabharata*, 2.60, 7.40 and the following dispute.

¹¹ *Mahabharata*, 1.89.17-19.

¹² *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 33.5.

¹³ *Taittirīya Samhita* 6.8, My attention was drawn to it by K. A. SHIVARAMAKRISHNA SHASTRI of the Deccan College.

^{14, 15} In the *Kaushīṭaki Upaniṣad* where this passage occurs it is out of context and looks like some old material preserved in later philosophical speculations. This passage is very important as it casts a light on certain very ancient practices as also on certain theoretical discussions and tendencies in later legal literature.

Kaushīṭaki and *Bṛhadāranyaka* 1.5.19. See *Dashopanishad*, K. Raja, Adyar library; R. E. Hume, *The Thirteen Principle Upaniṣadas*.

¹⁶ FAUSBOLL, *Susima-jataka*, ii, 46-50; *Jātaka-kathā-vañṇana*, 1879.

¹⁷ *Mahabharata*, 5.146. 29, 30, 32 and 35 also 5.147-11-30.

¹⁸ *Mahabharata*, 17.1.9.

¹⁹ *Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol. 29, pp. 260-61.

²⁰ Indian Text Series. *Dictionary of Pali proper-names*, p. 1286, *Serivaniṇṇa Jātaka*.

²¹ KALIDASA, *Shakuntala*, 5th act.

²² *Mahabharata*, 5.146. 29-35.

²³ *Mahabharata*, 1.207. 21, 22.

²⁴ I. KARVE, *Economic Weekly*, Vol. XV, No. 17, April 27, 1963, p. 701.

²⁵ MAYNE, *op. cit.*, p. 973, 1963 edition.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION*

The studies described in this paper lead to further anthropological problems. Some of these are being investigated by the author with the help of colleagues but the field is so vast that a larger number of people getting interested in the same problems is always advantageous and so in the following pages a few of these are indicated.

We have seen how the kinship organization is influenced and strengthened by the caste system and how both these conform to certain patterns found in wide geographical areas called linguistic regions. And yet no linguistic region has the same kind of kinship pattern, no two castes possess identical relationship behaviour and no two families in a caste act in exactly the same way. A description can give but a generalized picture of a type of social conduct which is ever changing and it is necessary to understand the variety and mode of the changes which are found in each linguistic region or in each caste to understand well the implications of a social structure. One must find out the degree of tolerance which a social structure possesses for deviations and aberrations and also the devices like myths and make-beliefs which are used in order to incorporate the deviations into what is felt to be the normal mode of behaviour.

The rigidity or the elasticity of a social structure may depend either on the nature of the particular social structure or on the whole cultural fabric of a society.

A few examples will make this clear. In Maharashtra some castes follow the northern type of kinship behaviour as regards marriage while the majority of castes allow the marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter. Among those castes which follow the northern pattern, a few cases of cross-cousin marriages do occur very rarely. In such cases the bride is given in adoption to a man who is in no way related to the groom. She then becomes technically his daughter and can then marry the man as he is no

* Some of the points referred to in this chapter are dealt with more fully in the author's *Hindu Society — An Interpretation*, Deccan College, Poona, 1961.

blood relation of hers in her new capacity. The legality of such a procedure is questionable but it is resorted to, to create the necessary condition of a northern marriage, i.e., that the groom and the bride must not be blood-relations.

Divorce is not tolerated by the Brahmanic law books and has not the sanction of the priests. The Hindu law codified by the English with the help of the Brahmin savants also withheld recognition of divorce and yet divorce is a firmly established social institution all over India in all castes except a few which consider themselves the top castes, e.g., Brahmins, Kshatriyas, etc. Divorce is granted in the Indian law courts and also in the caste-councils without recourse to the law courts and yet all castes combine in a conspiracy which denies the existence of this feature of the marriage customs of Hindus. This refusal to face facts is helped by certain linguistic devices. There are different words for the first marriage, i.e., marriage of a virgin and for the subsequent marriages, i.e., the remarriage of a widow or a divorcée. When I made enquiries about the marriages of widows in a community I always received an emphatic "no" as an answer. When I persisted and asked if a widow or a divorcée never "made a new home", a reluctant affirmative came, followed by the explanation that that was no "marriage", it was but a *sagai* (Hindi), *karewā* (Punjabi), *natrā* (Gujarati), or *pāṭ* (Marathi) according to the region of my enquiry.

The refusal to accept the existence of divorce has very far-reaching effects on kinship and caste organization. One of the first steps which a caste used to take in order to improve its standing in the caste hierarchy was to interdict divorce and widow-remarriage. Examples of deviating behaviour and the attempts either to explain it away or to fix it in the social norm are found also in old literature. The best known example is of the marriage of Draupadi to the five Pandava brothers. Scores of verses have been written in explanation of this abnormal behaviour on the part of the beloved heroes. The explanations resort to a story about the previous birth of princess Draupadi and a boon given to her by a god or to the following incident. When Arjuna came to his house with the newly won bride he called out in jest to his mother saying, "mother, I have got alms as usual". The mother replied from within the door "son, enjoy it, all five of you together". Kunti's words could not be made ineffective and so the princess was married to all five brothers. Here we have the device of myth to explain and justify deviating behaviour.

A king could marry as many brides as he chose and it was the

desire of many a pretty girl to please the king and enter his harem. He could capture the wives of his enemies, who were considered to be his lawful booty, but within his own kingdom he had to respect married women. Depriving a subject of his wife brought curses and unpopularity here and hell in the other world. The following Pali story is based on this norm of behaviour and depicts an attempt to circumvent the social and religious injunction. King Pasenadi of Banaras was a good king. Once while doing the round of his city he saw a very beautiful woman in the poor quarters of the city and desired to possess her. After coming back to his palace he gave directions to his minister to find out if the woman had a husband (*Sassāmikā*) or was without one (*assāmikā*). The minister brought the information that she had a husband. The king could not possess her and so employed her husband and waited for an opportunity of finding fault in his services and then beheading him. This ruse did not succeed and in the end the king repented of his behaviour!¹

What are the circumstances which favour deviations? There may be a type of social structure which is more tolerant about deviations than another. There may also be certain outside factors, especially like culture-contact, which may lead to numerous deviations. In Indian society both these factors have been at work.

The family in the majority of regions in India is an autonomous unit with its own gods, its own observances, its own economic organization, which is semi-independent of other similar units. The caste in its turn is also a closed autonomous unit which has certain limited contacts with other similar units and which controls the behaviour of families in certain respects. Different castes living in the same locality have different rules as regards marriage, have different hereditary occupations and different gods. A family and a caste are social groups of a kind where the individuals are conscious of belonging to the group. A linguistic region is a kind of a group where people are generally not aware of the membership of a group, but this consciousness awakens the moment one comes into contact with other linguistic groups. Changes occur in the structure of all these groups and there are, as we have seen, devices of accommodation. Sometimes, however, the changes or deviations may be so great that accommodation and re-orientation within the frame-work of the old structure is not possible. It is interesting to study what happens in such cases.

In the Ramayana is told the story of one Sambuka who, though of a low caste, had the temerity to undertake a Brahmanic penance.

The man was killed by Rama. This deed brought no glory to Rama, who himself felt the injustice of the act and a gloss was put on the whole affair by recording that Sambuka went straight to heaven as he had the great honour of being killed by the divine Rama! The other is a historical incident. In the early thirteenth century there lived a man who, feeling that he had a call for seeking the highest Reality, renounced the joys of the world, left his house and wife and went to Banaras to study and meditate at the feet of a great sage. The sage learnt about the sorry plight of the wife of his disciple and bade him go back and start life as a householder. The man did as he was bid. He was execrated by his fellow townsmen who excommunicated him. According to the Hindu religion when a man becomes a *sanyasi* (ascetic) after renouncing the world, he is as good as dead and he must never come back to his old life. A *sanyasi* had no family and no caste—socially he is non-existent. He has no rights nor any duties. Four children, three boys and a girl, were born to this couple. Unable to face life, the husband and wife, in expiation of their sin, committed suicide by drowning themselves in a river. The orphaned children lived by begging and became famous as great spiritual leaders and poets. One of these named Jnaneshvara was worshipped in his own times; but none could marry or settle down to the normal life of a Hindu, as they were children of a *sanyasi* who had reverted back to the life of householder.

The first men (from Bengal) who went to England for study were all of them employed by the Government and given very good salaries. They lived in luxury in Calcutta and though excommunicated by their caste could always find enough offers of marriage to secure a bride and could purchase pardon from the community by staging an expensive ceremony of purification by bribing the priests. All this was possible because of the independent means of livelihood secured to them by the foreign rulers. Some of them married European women. At first the opposition to such marriages was great but later such couples were taken into the caste after a purificatory ceremony. In Maharashtra a Brahmin married a widow some sixty-five years ago (1893). He was excommunicated by his village community. His parents and brothers and sisters could not eat in his house. But this man lived in Poona, was independent of his family in the village and gradually after years of estrangement the society accepted him and his family. His sons could marry Brahmin girls and the past hardships only served to enhance the later prestige of the man. He became

the pioneer. His example was followed by others and now Brahmin widows can marry without the fear of social ostracism as far as the bigger cities are concerned.²

In the same way in Kerala the relationship between the younger sons of the Nambudri Brahmin families and Nayar women had no legal status, as far as the Nambudri fathers were concerned. The children of such relationship could not inherit their fathers' property. Neither had their fathers, as younger sons, any property of their own. During the British Rule, it became possible for these men to have means of livelihood independent of the ancestral joint family and so were in a position to establish independent patrilineal families. These and other educated Nayar men agitated for legalization of the Nayar *sambandham* as a regular marriage in which the children could inherit the fathers' property. This reform also is on par with the reform movements in the other regions of India.

The Hindu family organization had to be modified to accommodate this new change because it could not cut off the deviating members in the old way. The four children of the *sanyasi*, namely Nivr̥tti, Jnanadeva, Sopana and the girl Mukta, even after reaching unprecedented social eminence as poet-saints could not hope to lead normal lives as householders in the Hindu society of those times. Every one of them committed suicide by religious penance (*samādhi*). The children of a re-married widow (in the early 20th century) on the other hand could find mates in their own society and she and her husband came to be respected as pioneers in social reform. Similarly the people agitated for and obtained the legalization of *sambandham*, and became the pioneers of the modern reform movement in Kerala. This difference in the consequences is no doubt dependent on the change in social situation due to culture contact, but it became possible mainly because of the protection afforded to the deviators by a foreign political power, thus making the old mechanisms of social sanctions and social control ineffective. Under these circumstances the old institutions of family, the caste and even the region have been undergoing certain changes. These unfortunately remain mainly unexplored fields of anthropology in India. Some work has been done on culture-contact and cultural accommodation of primitive societies but the problem of the structural stability, the tolerance of a structure for aberrations and deviations and the mechanisms of structural accommodation have not been studied satisfactorily.

The contact with Muslims and Christians brought a new type of

deviant behaviour into the Indian society. That was of people giving up their religion to become Muslims and Christians. When a man became a Muslim or a Christian that cut him off from his family as if he were dead but it did not free his wife who might have remained Hindu. Such a man also had no place in the caste though he may go on doing the hereditary work of the caste. The Hindu society cut the losses and went on with what was left. With a more closely knit society with centralized organs of social control it is possible that India may have offered greater resistance to the two new religions and perhaps succumbed in doing so. But by the process of eliminating the deviants as dead it preserved its old structure to a considerable extent without having to make compromises. History tells of individuals and castes repenting of conversion and wishing to come back to the fold only to find the door barred.³ This mode of organization and survival is very different from that found in more closely-knit societies which are not compartmental but centrally organized. If one may draw an analogy, the Hindu society with its autonomous, semi-independent structures like the family, the caste and the polytheistic religion has an organization comparable to that of the worms, where each segment, though linked to the others, is yet semi-independent and possessed of or capable of creating organs needed for survival. When such a worm is cut, each cut section goes on living as a new organism. The cut in one segment does not jeopardize or irreparably maim the remaining body. Among other animals with a centrally organized structure of the body each limb is unique and irreplaceable and so even a small loss is felt by and reacted to by the whole organism. From a social and cultural point of view both types of organizations have certain advantages and disadvantages and the survival value of each type will depend on the types of dangers each has to face. The mechanism of survival for one type of society is an all-out fight; for the other, it is non-resistance, retreat and a drawing in within itself during the period of stress and a gradual expansion during the period of ease.

These mechanisms inherent in the social structure are, however, not efficient under certain circumstances. Two examples were given above of what happened in the case of deviation in the past. In the recent past a new factor came into play. This was political rule by people of other cultures. The Muslims after conversion left the non-converted part of the society to its own devices and it continued its lop-sided, truncated existence as best as it could. Under the British a more centralized political power was

established which introduced certain laws common to the whole Indian society, which wanted an army of employees to carry on its administration and thus created opportunities of economic freedom for people who could then successfully defy the mandates of the family or the caste. The family was based on a locality and could not hope to survive in a village hostile to it, but the new rulers made it possible for deviant families or individuals to live well away from the native village. These people introduced deviations within the own structure without resorting to conversion and the society could not cut them off and had to accommodate them. A few examples will make this clear. All these examples refer to what has been called the movement of social reform started by Indians since the inception of the British rule. These reforms consisted of such things as crossing the seas for education, eating food with Europeans and people of other castes, marriage of girls after puberty, sending girls to schools or establishing schools for girls, marriage of widows etc. The first men who did these things all belonged to Bengal, the first Indian province to be firmly established under the British rule.

In older decades the society punished the deviant behaviour mercilessly. Even when the people who initiated this behaviour (like Sambuka) or who were products of such a behaviour (the four children of the Sanyasi) had proved their worth and had been honoured. Yet they had to suffer the consequences of their actions or the actions of their parents. While conceding the individual worth of the actors, the acts themselves were condemned outright. The actors themselves accepted the verdict of the society. These were humble people who bowed down to the verdict of society. What happened when the deviators were powerful people? The example of Draupadi has already been cited. There are many other examples in old literature of acts, which went against the established norms of kinship behaviour. The excuses, the explanations offered and the judgment passed against these would repay study. A historical example of such behaviour is that of King Bimbisara who killed his aged parents to gain the throne. The act went unpunished but it is recorded that after three or four such kings the subjects decided to put an end to the patricidal line and killed the king and offered the throne to another.

The changes considered above were of a type initiated by individuals. Ultimately almost all the changes in a social structure are initiated by the deviating behaviour of a single person but there are certain changes which seem not to be initiated by the isolated

action of individuals but by mass behaviour. To take a concrete example, the mass transportation of people from the primitive tribes to the tea gardens of Assam and the life of the primitives there is a factor which one would expect would lead to profound changes in the family structure of the primitives, yet this has not been studied upto now. At a labour depot in Koraput in Orissa, I had a very interesting conversation with the man who selected the labourers and arranged for their transport to Assam. This gentleman had contact with the labourers for over twenty years. He told me of the different ways in which peoples of different tribes reacted to the environment of the tea gardens. He gave just a small instance. He said that the Koya of the Godavari forests had a passion for saving money. They did not even eat properly and sometimes brought back upto two thousand rupees in cash. He said he always wanted to know how that money, which would be an enormous fortune among the primitives, was spent. The money-hoarding Koya, the spend-thrift Bondo and others typify certain attitudes which must be of great consequence to the social structure of these people and the mass-contact with labour organizations must have far-reaching effects; but unfortunately they have not been studied. The same situation is found in industrial cities like Bombay where labourers are drawn from all over India. Thousands of people leave their small villages and live in individual families in surroundings which are entirely different from their traditional home-life in the village. How this mass-phenomenon has reacted on the kinship organization is worth a study. That a social organization changes is a platitude but to try to trace the agency, the extent and the mode of change and the rationalizations accompanying such changes are details the study of which would lead to a better understanding of social structures themselves.

The joint family provided economic and social security. The village where people spent all their lives was also the ultimate support of all the residents. The rise of industrial cities and the new opportunities of employment have resulted in a loosening of the bonds of the joint family and of the village community. Death of a man did not leave the children destitute because there was the joint family to care for the children and the widow. The author also remembers a time when the aged, the blind, the maimed of the poorer population in a village were fed and clothed by the village. In a west coast village a day in the week was set aside as the alms-day and each family had to distribute at least 4 seers K...25.

(eight pounds) of rice among the beggars who came to the door. The author's grandmother knew each of the beggars by name. School-going boys of the poor were given food by turns at the houses of the better-off Brahmin citizens. Though the latter privilege was reserved for the Brahmins, on all feast days and marriages and deaths there was food and sometimes clothing given to the poor. This local charity has almost vanished. The destitutes and the beggars flock to the cities and do not 'belong' anywhere. The problem of juvenile delinquency and destitution is becoming grave and cannot be solved by establishing bigger and bigger institutions in the cities. The children must be re-established in the locality from which they came and the responsibility of looking after them and providing for them must be taken up by the community of the native town. In the same way, it is easier for a linguistic region to look after its destitutes. These unfortunates must be reinstated into a community, they must 'belong' somewhere. In the institutions children from different linguistic regions are brought together and the only bond which unites them is destitution or crime. The joint family which could look after its orphans has almost vanished. The caste system with all its terrible injustices also gave a certain social security to its members and the village combined certain aspects of the family and the caste. In the modern set-up the old institutions seem to be at variance with the present needs. Old inherited loyalties to the family and the caste lead to nepotism which vitiates public life in modern India. To build up feelings of intense loyalty to free India as one nation is the supreme need of the present day and it seems to be at variance with the autonomous entities like the family, the caste, the village and the region. The old segmental life failed to build up a strong nation and so one thinks of giving it up. But the old way of life had also certain valuable cultural traits which we must preserve. The refusal to take sides when nations are at war may be due to an inherited attitude which cannot see absolute ethical good in one idea or which cannot understand why the god of one community is better than that of another. The keen perception of social alternatives, an awareness of diversity, a tolerance of the practices of others are attitudes which have grown in the particular historical configuration we call the Indian society and when we modify consciously or unconsciously the old structures we also modify old attitudes—or may be the change in the attitude leads to the modification of old structures.

The kinship organization described in this book presents us with two zones with different modes of marriages. Marriage rules are rules about mating which must have an effect on the genetical make-up of a family or caste. We saw that in the north the rules of marriage lay down that brides should be brought from families which are not related by blood; that as far as possible one should not give a daughter into a family from which a girl is brought as bride and that in one generation more than one bride should not be brought from the same family. All this would result in a continuous mixing of all the families in a caste and in a big family one would find marriage connections with a very large number of other families in the caste. Suppose there is a northern caste with twenty inter-marrying *gotras*, the chances are that in a family having the *gotra* A, one can find marriage connections with all the other *gotras* B, C, D, E, etc. The families in *gotra* A will have received genes from all the other *gotras*. Thus the *gotra* A should be a miniature of the whole caste. If for a blood-group survey one took a sample from such a caste by choosing ten individuals from each *gotra*, that sample should be identical with another sample which would consist of all the members of one *gotra*. Also, if there is free mating as the rules suggest, every *gotra* should be equally representative of the whole caste.

On the other hand if we take a southern caste with exogamous clans and the southern marriage rules, we may have quite a different genetical constitution of the caste. The clan A will have brought in brides predominantly from clan B with a sprinkling of a few from clans C and D. A majority of clans would remain unrepresented if one wrote out the genealogy of a family belonging to clan A. The same would be the case of a family belonging to clan F or G or H. In spite of the caste being the endogamous unit for marriage, the full freedom of choice would not be actually exercised and any one clan would have no marriage connections with a large number of other clans. A sample of one clan will include a sample of two or three more clans but never of the whole caste. If one constituted a caste sample by taking ten individuals of each clan it would be different from samples constituted by taking all members of any single clan. One cannot foretell what the findings of such an investigation would be. One will have to take into account various possibilities as follows :

- (1) A caste may have been a small inter-marrying group which split into units which kept on the practice or,

(2) A caste, starting as one inter-marrying group split into many groups where inter-marriage is practised only among smaller groups within the caste, so that it consists today of clusters of inter-marrying groups or,

(3) Families practising inter-marriage and forming a close group came in contact with other families and coalesced to form a caste whose members practised certain common craft and helped one another but kept to its old marriage alliances or,

(4) It may happen that whatever the marriage rules are the genetical material is so uniformly distributed that neither type of mating shows up in difference in the genetical structure of clans or *gotras*.

It would be a lucky chance indeed if an investigation of the above sort were to help in the complete understanding of a social structure but nevertheless it is worth while trying it out, for, no science worth the name must disdain the help which another science can offer it.

In the same way it is worth making a thorough investigation of the north and the south and the east as also of the various castes as regards blood-groups and other easily determinable physical characteristics. Culture is not a thing dependent on physical heredity but ultimately a culture walks on two legs and if it is found that social structures can be spatially mapped the chances are that the people who have different cultures may also be people belonging to different ethnic groups and a key may be obtained to the origin of these cultures. When we study social structures we do not mix the study with speculations about races but when such a study reveals a spatial pattern, it is legitimate to seek the aid of another science and see if anything of use to us emerges from its investigation.⁴

And in the ultimate analysis the problems of the greatest importance is to understand that whole which is made up by the entire fabric of the social institutions, traditions and mental habits which goes under the name of a culture and which is the foundation of the diverse personalities which one meets and which one is. A study of a single social structure necessarily involves references to the whole culture without, however, carrying out a full analysis of it. In this sense each study is incomplete and is doomed to remain ever incomplete.

REFERENCES

¹ King Jehangir of the Moghul dynasty, removed from Pasenadi by over twenty centuries, had used a similar device to possess the wife of one of his courtiers. The courtier was sent on service in a distant province which was always in revolt and very obligingly died while hunting. The king later married the widow who became the empress Nur Jahan.

² *The New Brahmins*, Ed. D. D. KARVE, University of California Press, 1963.

³ Conversion into Hinduism is being practised now.

⁴ These studies have been pursued in the Deccan College Institute for some years past but the rate of work is maddeningly slow for lack of adequate funds.

